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THE EARLY OCCUPANTS
OF THE OFFICE OF
ORGANIST AND MASTER OF THE CHORISTERS
OF THE
CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF CHRIST
AND THE
BLESSED VIRGIN MARY, WORCESTER.

BY
IVOR ATKINS.

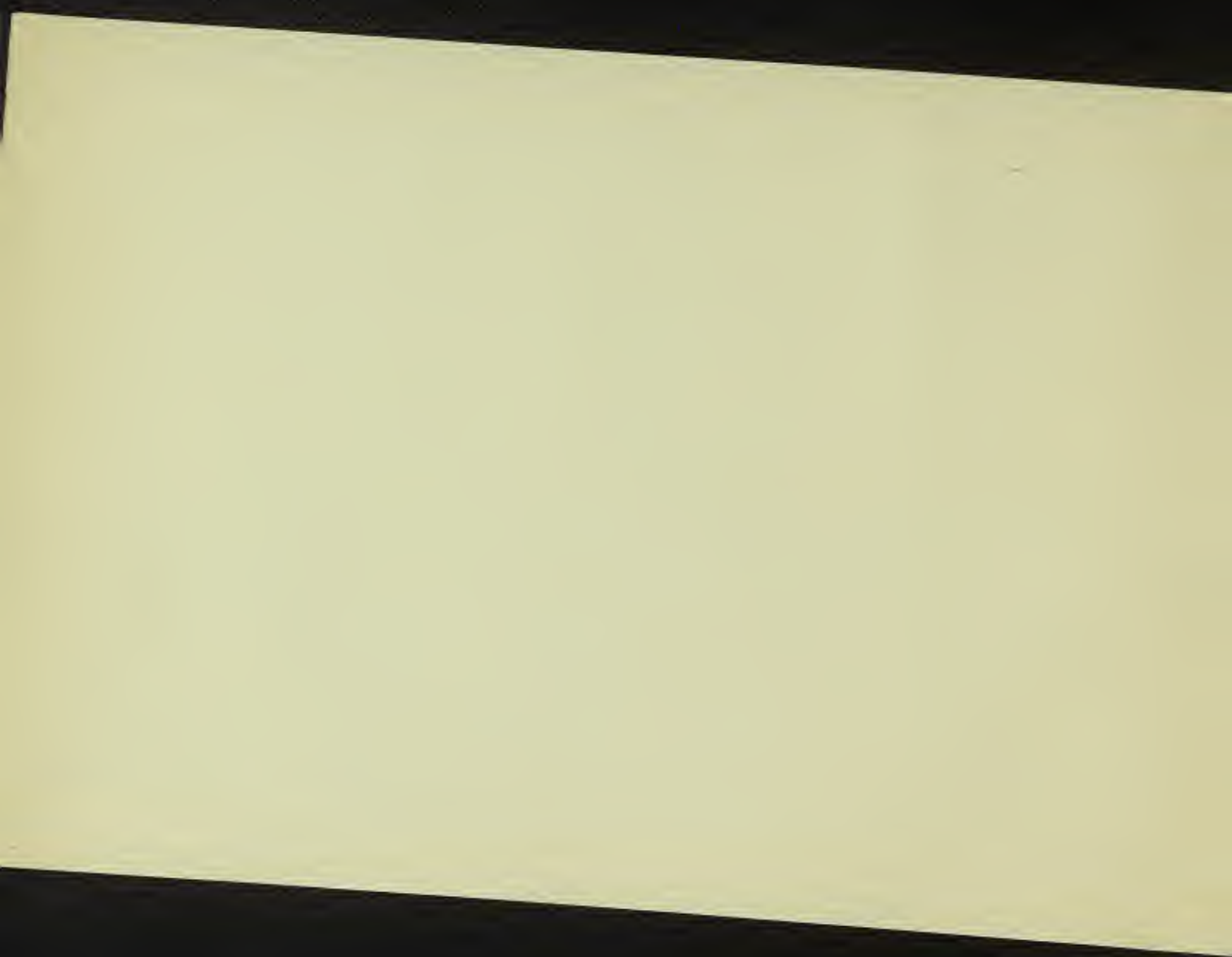


Printed for the Worcestershire Historical Society,
By MITCHELL HUGHES AND CLARKE, LONDON, W.

. 1918.

ADDITIONAL LIST OF ERRATA.

- P. 4, l. 3. For "contigebat" *read* "contingebat."
- l. 20. For "Briarello" *read* "Briavello."
- l. 2 from foot of page. For "by moving" *read* "moving."
- P. 6, l. 9. For "exhibendem" *read* "exhibendum."
- last line. For "perfertur" *read* "prefertur."
- P. 10, l. 7. For "mannitorio" *read* "in cimiterio."
- l. 15. "facto in rotulum" ought perhaps to be translated "made roll-wise." (*Cf.* Inventory of the Master of the Chapel, p. 19.)
- P. 15, last line. For "Consuetudinares" *read* "Customary."
- P. 22, l. 24. Perhaps a more probable distribution of the voices would be
 4 Contra Tenors. 2 Tenors and 4 Basses to each side. *Cf.*
 Archbishop Laud's Visitation Articles for Salisbury Cathedral,
 1634:
 viii Item, whether is there care had that men of skill
 and good voices are chosen into your quire, and that the
 voices be seated every one in his place, so that there be
 not more of tenors therein, which is an ordinary voice,
 than there be of basses and counter tenors, which do best
 furnish the quire ?—Laud's *Works* (*Library of Anglo-*
Catholic Theology), vol. v., pt. ii., p. 461.
- P. 53, l. 4. For "1634" *read* "1637."



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Printed for the Worcestershire Historical Society,
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1918.

I dedicate this little record of Worcester Musicians

TO

SIR EDWARD ELGAR, O.M.,

a friend with whom I have shared much which I value
most in life, and, not least, the love of other days.

PREFACE.

THE beginnings of this little book were made some years ago, at a time when the Cathedral Records were in a state of considerable disorder, and only in recent years has it become possible to transform notes which were necessarily disconnected into an orderly, if inadequate, record of the musicians of the Cathedral up to the Restoration. That it has been possible to make even so slight a study as the present one is due entirely to Canon J. M. Wilson, to whose classification and arrangement of its Records the Cathedral owes far more than it is possible to estimate at the present time.

Several considerations induced me to attempt some account of our early Worcester musicians, and of these perhaps the strongest was a love of the Cathedral which has grown with the many years spent about it, especially perhaps a love of its early musical aims—aims which alas ! have been largely defeated with the passage of years by being unwisely lost sight of. Another consideration which weighed with me was the fact that such a study might add, directly or indirectly, to our knowledge of English music.

Modern writers have shewn that up to the end of the sixteenth century music in England was more than abreast of Continental music, and that in instrumental music—particularly in music for keyboard instruments—England distinctly led the way up to the early part of the seventeenth century. How far this view is an under-statement of the case will only appear when we have been able to make a close study of the vast stores of our music, which up to the present are only accessible in MS. form. When, after the war, the Carnegie Trust have printed and made available to students some of the great

treasures of English music of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—a work which in any country but our own would long since have been undertaken by the State—we shall better be able to judge how great is our musical inheritance, and how much indeed the whole art of music owes to our early English Masters. In the meanwhile, the details of our musical history need much filling in, and therefore no study like the present can be deemed lost labour; for though it deals only with Worcester music, yet, taken in conjunction with work of the same kind which others are undertaking, one cannot but hope that it may contribute somewhat to that fuller knowledge which will be so necessary to the future historian when the time comes to estimate the true position of English music.

I hope it may not be necessary to apologize for dullness of style in a book which does not pretend to offer more than facts. I have tried to be accurate, and I can only say that it requires more detachment and greater experience than I have had to be able to listen to the exacting voice of accuracy and yet be able to marshal a host of facts in a style which could be said to be other than dull.

For the section dealing with Pre-Reformation music as revealed in the early Conventual Rolls, I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to Leach's *Documents illustrating Early Education in Worcester* (Worc. Hist. Soc., 1913), a book which gave me my first introduction to the Rolls of the *Magister Capelle*. These Rolls were kindly read for me at a later date by Canon J. M. Wilson, who, though unable to spare the time for anything like a detailed examination, was nevertheless able to add some interesting details relating to the music. Since that time I have been able to examine them to some extent for myself, though my examination, too, has been much restricted for lack of time. It is much to be hoped that these Rolls will some day be published.

My grateful thanks are offered to the Dean and Chapter, who have at all times allowed me the fullest access to the Cathedral archives for the preparation of this book.

For help at various times I have to express my acknowledge-

ments to many people; particularly to Canon J. M. Wilson for his warm encouragement, without which this account would not have been written; to Canon Wilson also I owe the translation of Daniel Boys's Deed of Appointment on pages 17—19; to Canon Clement Price, Rector of St. Helen's and St. Michael's, who has given me constant help, and whose learning and advice have always been freely at my disposal; to Canon C. G. Brown, St. David's; to Canon J. N. Dalton, Windsor; to the Rev. Dr. W. Howard Frere; to the Rev. H. A. Wilson, Librarian of Magdalen College, Oxford; to Canon Christopher Wordsworth, Salisbury, for much interesting information regarding Giles Tomkins Senr.; to the Revs. F. O. Gascoigne and G. F. Williams for access to Martin Hussingtree and St. Nicholas Registers; to the Revs. W. T. Grocock and A. H. Lee; and to the Rev. R. A. Wilson Witley, for his help and advice.

For other valued help I offer my thanks to Mr. G. F. Adams, Registrar, Worcester Probate Court, and to his chief clerk Mr. C. Widdop; to Mr. Robert Berkeley, F.S.A., of Spetchley Park; to Mrs. Rowland Berkeley of Cotheridge; to Mr. Thomas Duckworth, Victoria Institute; to Mr. Francis Green, Sec. of Hist. Soc. of West Wales; to Dr. M. R. James, Provost of Eton College; to Mr. Henry Ley, Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford; to Mr. W. Barclay Squire and to Mr. C. B. Shuttleworth.

The facsimiles of Thomas Tomkins's handwriting in the Cathedral Treasurers' Accounts were kindly made for me by Mr. W. T. Potter, Hon. Sec. of the Worcester Festival Choral Society.

For the Index and for much other valuable help I am indebted to my friend Mr. Edgar Day, Assistant Organist of the Cathedral.

IVOR ATKINS.

September 1918.

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

P. 4, l. 13. The Chapel of St. Edmund and the Chapel of St. George (which was on the south side of the Nave) were pulled down by Dean Barlow in 1550. The first is said to have contained a pair of organs and the second a great pair of organs. (Green, *History of Worcester*, 1796, i., p. 113.)

P. 7. The following passage from the *Rites of Durham* (written in 1593), Surtees Soc., p. 37, is of interest as bearing upon the Nave Lady Chapel at Worcester. It offers a curious analogy even to the rebuilding of the chapel in the fifteenth century by Bishop Alcock. The Galilee at Durham is at the West end of the Cathedral.

Within the said Gallelei in the Cantarie . . . stood OUR LADIES ALTER . . . where our Ladies masse was sung dalie, by the master of the Song Schole (cauled M^r John Brimley), with certaine decons, and quiristers, the master playing upon a paire of faire orgaines the tyme of our Ladies masse, wherin the first founder of the said chantarie Bushop Langlei his soule was most devoutly praied for both in the begyning and ending therof. (This Bushop Langley (1406—1437) did reedefye and buyld anew agayne the sayd Gallilei.)

P. 15. For "Townshend" read "Townsend."

P. 43. *footnote*. I learn from the Dean of Gloucester (Dr. H. Gee) that he has traced Thomas Tomkins Senr. as Minor Canon to 1594, when the records fail, and as Precentor to 1609, when again the earlier records fail.

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THE first musician of whom there is any record in the history of Worcester Cathedral music is St. Wulstan, who, prior to his becoming Bishop of Worcester, held the office of Precentor in the Monastery. Nothing is known of him as a musician, but the Cathedral is happy in being able to count such a name amongst its chief musicians.

Nor was it less happy in its plainsong hymn-melodies, which appear to have been delivered to it in singularly pure form. These are preserved to us in an Antiphoner of the thirteenth century.* The melodies, as there presented, shew a good deal of variation from the Sarum form in tunes common to both, and to a musician this variation—one which may be said to lie in the direction of greater simplicity and directness—would suggest that the Worcester form must be of earlier origin. However this may be, there can be no doubt that those who have used both forms are at one in thinking that, for the most part, the melodies assume a greater purity and beauty in the Worcester Antiphoner.†

For centuries Worcester musicians groped after harmony, as others were doing throughout Europe, and it is probable that the outcome of

* Worc. Cath. Library. F. 160. The Antiphoner has been described by Dr. W. H. Frere in Floyer and Hamilton's *Catalogue of MSS. in Worcester Cathedral Library*. (Worc. Hist. Soc.)

† E.g., *Vexilla regis*, *A solis ortus cardine*, *Aurea luce*, *Jesu nostra redemptio*. It is perhaps worth recording that the use of these and other melodies in their Worcester form has been revived in the Cathedral in recent years.

some of their efforts may be seen in fragments of early harmony which are preserved in the Cathedral Library.* These fragments, which have mostly been recovered from the bindings of books, have been carefully catalogued and described by Dame Laurentia McLachlan, O.S.B., of Stanbrook Abbey, Worcester.† Slight as these examples of early harmony are, they are of great historical interest. Such beginnings, unpromising and hopeless as they may seem to us to-day, led eventually to the complex setting of the *Salve Regina* by John Hampton, a Worcester organist of the late fifteenth century—a work whose existence was not known of until very recent years, but one which will eventually take high rank in music of the period.

The musical services of to-day undoubtedly had their origin in provisions which were made sometime in the early part of the fourteenth century, whereby the Lady Mass was separately maintained in the Chapel of the Blessed Mary—an arrangement which set free the monks for the observance of their other Offices. By the end of the fourteenth century the care of these services seems to have been vested in the Warden or Master of the Chapel of the Blessed Mary. The office appears first in a roll dated 1392 under the title of *Custos capelle beate Marie*. Afterwards the title given is either *Custos capelle* or *Magister capelle beate Marie*. From 1392 the succession of these rolls is practically regular and they contain constant references to expenses in connection with the maintenance of Boys and Clerks of the Chapel as singers; in fact we owe almost all our information about the early music of the Cathedral to these account rolls kept by the Master of the Chapel.

* Cath. Library. Portfolio labelled *Fragments of Service Books*. The following are amongst the contents:—

No. IX. A leaf from a Troper (14th century) containing *Organa* to *Alleluia* verses.

XVIII. Two leaves.

1. An *organum* on the words *Alleluia*, etc. Melody in Tenor.
2. A *motet* (the motet is said to be well known).

XIX. Three damaged double leaves of an *Organum* book.

1. Part of two 3-part settings of hymn *Gloria, Laus*.
In the 1st, the air is in the middle voice.
In the 2nd, in the highest.

2. A 3-part *Gloria in Excelsis* and other harmonized pieces.

XXVIII. Four leaves from a book of motets.

The pes *Quem totus* is the melody of the Gradual *Benedicta* of the Mass of the B.V.M.

The description of these fragments is drawn from Dame Laurentia's catalogue.

† The catalogue is in MS. and is to be found in the Cathedral Library.

Before entering into further consideration of the music of the Chapel of the Blessed Mary, it is important to identify its position in the Cathedral. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary it would be natural to assume that the chapel was identical with the Lady Chapel at the east end, and this is precisely what writers have done. So far as I know, all who have written of the *Magister Capelle*—whose full title was *Custos*, or *Magister Capelle Beate Marie ecclesie Cathedralis Wigorniensis**—have implied that he was Master of this Lady Chapel. I think, however, that it can be shown conclusively that the *Capella Beate Marie* to which all the Rolls of the *Magister Capelle* refer, that is, the Chapel wherein all the purely choral services were sung, must be identified with the Chapel of the Blessed Mary *in the Nave*.

As the Cathedral was already a Lady Church, seeing that it was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, it may be well, perhaps, to set forth the documentary evidence of the existence, as early as the 14th century, of two Lady Chapels—one at the East End and the other in the Nave.

The earliest traceable references to Lady Chapels are the following:—

[*Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard*, f. 287.]

1287. Memorandum quod Die Circumcisionis Domini anno xix. Dominus Episcopus Wygorn. sepelivit fratrem R. de Feckeham tunc priorem Wygorn. in ecclesia cathedrali Wyg. inter maius altare et capellam beate Marie.

[Translation from *Episcopal Registers*, Ed. by J. W. Willis Bund, Vol. ii, p. 325.]

[Memorandum that on the day of the Circumcision, *Anno* 19, the Bishop of Worcester (Giffard) buried brother R. de Feckeham, then prior of Worcester, in the Cathedral Church of Worcester between the high altar and the Chapel of the Blessed Mary.]

[1292. *Ibid*, vol. ii, p. 422.]

Will of John de Wyg., called son of Peter. He leaves his body to be buried in the Church of the Blessed Mary of Worcester, to wit, in the Chapel of the Blessed Mary. To the prior and convent of Worcester, 8^s yearly . . . for the use of the Chantry of the Mass of the Blessed Mary of the same Church.

1306. A third reference to a Lady Chapel is contained in the *Liber Albus*, in a Memorandum which records that the Bishop accepted the professions of W. de Kerswell and others in the *capella beate Marie* on Thursday in Holy Week, 1306.

* Though not invariably. In C. 251 (1392-3), and some of the early Rolls we have *Custos capelle ecclesie Cathedralis beate Marie Wygornie*, and in C. 259 (1406-7) *Custos capelle beate Marie ecclesie Cathedralis Wygornie*.

Liber Albus. No. 359. Fol. xxvi, a.

Professio et oleum.

In die cene qui contigebat ii Kal. Aprilis professi fuerunt a domino W. Episcopo in capella beate Marie W. de Kerswell et socii ejus. Eodem die dictus episcopus fecit totum officium et consecravit oleum.

Of the above, the first (1287) can only refer to the Lady Chapel at the East End; the second and third also must certainly relate to the same chapel.

We now come to the first unmistakable references to a Lady Chapel in the Nave:—

1310. On Sept. 21, 1310, the third day of the ceremonies attending his Enthroning, Bishop Walter Reynolds dedicated two altars in the lower church, one in honour of the Blessed Mary, and the other in honour of St. Edmund.

[*Liber Albus*, No. 504.]

1315. The Nave altar to the Blessed Mary is mentioned again in a document in the *Liber Pensionum* (f. 54b), dated November 12th, 1315, which sets forth that William Colle granted sums of money for the endowment of a secular chaplain to celebrate masses at the Altar of the Blessed Mary at the Rededore [i.e. red door].

. . . . pro me Will^o Colle predicto et fratre Johanne de Sancto Briarello tam in vita quam in morte ac Priore et Conventu predictis necnon omnibus aliis vivis et specialiter pro omnibus illis qui operi matricis ecclesie Wygorniensis porrigunt vel porrigi manus adjutrices procurant necnon animabus antecessorum et successorum nostrorum et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum ad altare beate Marie ad rededore in ecclesia antedicta.

1381. Some idea of the position of the Nave Lady Chapel may be gathered from the *Chronologia Ædificiorum*, a document of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

[A. xii, fol. 77b.]

Anno domini mcccclxxxi Sacrista supradictus [John Lyndsey] clausuram fecit circa capellam beate Virginis juxta rubeum hostium, ipsum hostium amovendo et novum ibi ponendo.*

(In 1381 the above-named Sacrist [John Lyndsey] made an enclosure about the Chapel of the Blessed Mary [situated] near the Red Door, by moving the door itself and placing a new one there.)

* See also Bloom, *Original Charters*, pp. 72 and 168. For another reference to the *rubeum hostium* see S. G. Hamilton's *Computus Rolls*, Worc. His. Soc., 1910, pp. xxiii and 67.

The 1315 document makes mention only of the Altar of the Blessed Mary, but the *Chronologia* shews that it is more than probable that there was already a Chapel in 1315.

It will have been noticed that in the year 1381 we get a distinctive title for the Nave Lady Chapel, viz., the Chapel of the Blessed Mary at the Red Door; but throughout the rolls of the *Magister Capelle beate Marie*, i.e. from 1392 to the time of the Dissolution of the Monastery, such distinction is entirely wanting, the chapel being only referred to as the "Chapel of the Blessed Mary."

We must now turn to a Charter drawn between John Alcock, Bishop of Worcester from 1476 to 1486, and the Prior and Convent, which I think will be found to completely establish the identity of the Nave Lady Chapel with the *Capella Beate Marie* of the Rolls of the *Magister Capelle*. This deed, which is dated 17 Dec. 1478, sets forth the conditions upon which Bishop Alcock gave the Prior and Convent of Worcester the sum of £100 as an endowment for certain Masses which were to be said, and for a Respond or an Antiphon which was to be sung "in the Chapel of the Blessed Mary, situated in the Nave of the said Cathedral Church," for the good of his soul and for the souls of his parents and benefactors. In that portion of the deed which refers to the services to be sung by the clerks and boys under the care of the *Magister Capelle*, the Prior and Convent promised for themselves and their successors "that their fellow-monk and brother, the Master of the said Chapel [*Magister Capelle dicte*], together with the clerks and boys of the said chapel," should sing, every day for ever, the Respond *O Maria et Johannes*, or the Antiphon *Stella claritatis* immediately after Vespers in the Choir were over. In consideration of which the Master of the Chapel was to receive annually at the hands of the Cellarer the sum of 40^s.*

The Charter is too long to quote *in extenso*, but the following abstract contains all that relates to the services in the chapel.

* A further proof of the identity of this chapel with the *Capella Beate Marie* of the Rolls of the *Magister Capelle* is the fact that this sum yearly figures in the receipts of the income of the *Magister Capelle*, e.g., in the year 1484, while Alcock was still Bishop of Worcester:—

C. 286. 1483-4. Rec. de officio cellerarii ex ordinacione Domini episcopi per annum
xl^s
and again in 1521-2 [*Accounts of the Priory of Worcester*, Ed. by Canon J. M. Wilson, Worc. Hist. Soc., 1907]:—

p. 14. Item percipit de officio celerarii ex ordinacione domini Johannis Alcoke quondam episcopi Wigorn. per annum
xl^s

[A. 6, 1 fol. lxxx], b.]

Carta inter dominum Johannem Alcock Episcopum Wigorn.
et dominum Priorem et conuentum Wygorn

[dated 17 Dec. 1478]

After an introduction setting forth the grounds of the bequest the Deed proceeds:—

[Nos Prior et Conventus] per presens scriptum nostrum obligamus nos et successores nostros prefato reuerendo patri Johanni Episcopo et ejus successoribus ad inueniendum et exhibendum unum confratrum nostrorum sacerdotum missam quotidie in Capella Beate Marie in Navi dicte ecclesie cathedralis situate pro bono statu dicti reuerendi patris dum vixerit ac pro anima ipsius postquam ab hac luce migraverit ac animabus parentum et benefactorum suorum sub modo et forma sequentibus imperpetuum celebraturum et oraturum viz. ut dictus Sacerdos quolibet die dominica celebret missam de dominica vel de Trinitate nisi in festis Pasche et Pentecostes et Natalis Christi vel aliquo festo interveniente Virginis Marie in dominica contingentibus In quibus festis quocunque die contigerint volumus quod predictus Sacerdos Missam de die semper ibidem celebret die lune *de Sancto Spiritu* die martis missam de *Salus populi** die Mercurii pro defunctis *Requiem eternam* die Jovis *de corpore Christi* die Veneris *de Nomine Jesu* vel de *quinque plagis Christi* aut de *Sancta cruce* die Sabbato de sancta Maria cum oratione de Sancto Johanne Evangelista adjuncta cum prima collecta et cum Evangelio *Stabant juxta* et in qualibet hujusmodi missa in dicta capella celebranda dictus Sacerdos dicat orationes solitas pro Rege Regina et principe cum collecta *Rege quesumus Domine famulum tuum* etc. cum secretis et post communionem convenientibus quam collectam *Rege quesumus* etc. dictus Sacerdos cotidie dicat in qualibet missa nisi in missa de *Requiem* durante vita prefati reverendi patris Johannis Alcock et post ejus mortem in qualibet missa pie memorie Sacerdos dicat collectam *Deus qui inter apostolicos* cum secretis et post communionem convenientibus Sciatis insuper quod nos prefatus prior et conventus volumus ordinavimus promittimus concedimus pro nobis et successoribus nostris ac per presentes nos successores nostros firmiter obligamus prefato reuerendo patri auctoritate qua supra quod commonachus et confrater noster magister capelle dicte ecclesie nostre quicunque pro tempore fuerit cum clericis et pueris dicte capelle cantabunt seu cantari facient qualibet die imperpetuum immediate post vespervas in choro nostro finitas hoc responsorium† *O Maria et Johannes* cum versu et *Gloria patri* vel hanc antiphonam *Stelle claritatis* cum hac oratione *Domine Jesu Christe* et post orationes dicatur per predictos *De profundis* cum oracionibus *Deus qui inter apostolicos* et *Fidelium* et ut omnia et singula onera supradicta modo quo perfertur firmitus fidelius ac devocius

* *Pro patribus et sororibus* as in Sarum Missal.

† This word is followed by a capital E in the MS.

imperpetuum supportentur perimpleantur et manuteneantur nos predictus prior et conuentus volumus ordinavimus et concedimus pro nobis et successoribus nōstris imperpetuum auctoritate et forma supradicta quod predictus Sacerdos celebrans in predicta capella huiusmodi Missas sub forma predicta recipiet qualibet septimana in die sabbato ad cornu altaris ibidem de cellerario quocunque dicte ecclesie nostre qui pro tempore fuerit vel aliquo alio nomine ejusdem cellerarii xij^d Et predictus Magister Capelle quicunque pro tempore fuerit recipiet a predicto cellerario pro tempore existente vel aliquo alio ejus nomine annuatim xl^s ad quatuor anni terminos

The rest of the Charter is purely legal.

It was, then, in this Chapel of the Virgin in the Nave, a chapel easy of access to the people that the earliest choral music of the Cathedral was rendered by a choir composed of monks, clerks (i.e. lay-clerks) and boys. As we shall see later, in Hampton's deed of appointment, Bishop Alcock again identified himself with the chapel by rebuilding it some time between 1478 and 1486.* The Chapel was probably situated in the North aisle of the Nave, but its actual site must be left to others to determine. It is now time to return to the musicians of the Chapel.

THE CLERKS OF THE CHAPEL.

The Clerks are first to make their appearance in the rolls of the *Magister Capelle*, where they figure under the heading *Stipendia clericorum*. In 1392 one clerk only is named, John Hereford, but in the following year three are maintained, in addition to "outside clerks" who sang in the chapel at various times, and to whom the sum of 8*d*. was paid.

[C. 251. 1392-3, Accounts of the Master of the Chapel.]

In xij virgatis panni colorati emptis pro iij clericis, datis pro virga	xxij ^s ij ^d
plus in toto ij ^d	
In expensis clericorum extraneorum cantancium Organiam† in Capella,	
per vices in hostillaria	viii ^d

From 1393, up to the Dissolution, the number of clerks seems to have fluctuated between one and four. There is no record of there ever having been more, and even in the late fifteenth century there is frequent

* Leland (*Itinerary*, Ed. 1745, viii, 99) confirms this: Johannes Alcock episcopus Wigorn; erexit capellam S. Mariæ in Navi ecclesia quam designaverat suo sepulchro,

† This word is given quite clearly in the Roll,

mention of only one. As we know that at this time elaborate music was being sung—music of five parts and possibly more—there can be no doubt that the singing clerks were only imported to strengthen the monastic choir. This is borne out, I think, by such entries as the following :—

[Accounts of the Master of the Chapel.]

- C. 251. 1392-3. In donis datis monachis clericis et aliis de curialitate circa
Natale iiijs
C. 279. 1434-5. In jentaculis factis cum fratribus cantantibus in Capella
post Natale et post festum Pasche ijs
C. 284. 1475-6. In expensis dicti computantis et fratrum suorum ac cleri-
corum capelle in ebdomada Pasche et in festo obla-
cionis beate marie in templo hoc anno viijs vij^d
C. 291. 1503-4. Et in refectione confratrum et puerorum capelle in
ebdomada Pasche et in festo oblacionis beate marie xx^s

THE BOYS OF THE CHAPEL.

The Boys of the Chapel appear first in the Accounts for 1395, when two are mentioned :—

- C. 252. 1394-5. In iij virgatis pro ij pueris de capella pro virgata 18^d
iiij^s vj^d

Their actual numbers are rarely stated, but they can be worked out with some accuracy from the number of yards of cloth used for them throughout the year, the later allowance of cloth being two yards for each boy. Up to 1480-1 the number of boys does not appear to have exceeded four. This was the number maintained in that year.

- [C. 285a. 1480-1. Accounts of the Master of the Chapel.]
In viij virgatis panni lanei empti pro vestura iiij puerorum capelle, datis
pro virgata ijs vj^d xx^s

A few years later, 1483-4, five were maintained.

- [C. 286. 1483-4. *Ibid.*]
Et in vestura quinque puerorum xxi^s iiij^d

In the last quarter of that year John Hampton became Instructor of the boys and Organist, and it was probably due to his influence that very shortly after the number rose to eight, the number named in his deed of appointment in 1486,

[C. 288. 1489-90. *Ibid.*]Et computat solutis pro panno laneo empto pro vestura puerorum capelle xl^s

Ten years later the numbers were the same, though the price of cloth had risen.

[C. 290. 1500-1. *Ibid.*]Et in xvj virgis panni pro veste puerorum, datis pro virga ij^s viij^d xlijs viij^d

Finally, in the deed of appointment of Hampton's successor, Daniel Boys, dated 1522, the number of boys is again given as eight. We may safely conclude then, that this was the highest number reached before the Dissolution of the Monastery.*

INSTRUCTOR OF THE BOYS OF THE CHAPEL.

The first mention of an Instructor of the Boys is in 1395. In that year John Ylleway one of the clerks, received, in addition to his stipend, a gratuity of 2s. 9d. for teaching the chapel boys.

[C. 252. 1394-5. *Ibid.*]

In stipendio Johannis Ylleway per annum	xxvj ^s viij ^d
In curialitate data eidem ad informand. pueros de capella	ij ^s ix ^d

ORGANISTS OF THE CHAPEL.

The earliest mention of an Organist is in the reign of Henry III., when the name of Thomas the Organist occurs as a witness in three deeds of Bedwardine.† In 1415 the name of T. Hulet is given (see later, p. 10), and no further reference is at present known until 1468.

The title of Organist is first given in the Accounts of the *Magister Capelle* to

RICHARD GRENE (1468—1484).

[C. 284. 1475-6. Accounts of the Master of the Chapel.]

In stipendio Ricardi Grene, Organiste, xl^s.

* Leach suggests (*Early Documents*, p. 1.) that there were ten or twelve, but he was probably influenced by a slip which he made in transcribing A. xvij, f. 55, reading xlvj^s viij^d as £10 6s. 8d. instead of 46^s 8^d. (*Documents*, pp. liii and 103.)

† *Original Charters* (Bloom), p. xv.

Though not so described, Grene was probably organist before that year. His name first appears in 1468.

[C. 281. 1467-8.] Solutum Ric. Grene pro stipendio suo ultra vestimentum per annum xl^s

In the same year he and his wife Johanna were leased a house "within the Sanctuary" at a rent of 13^s 4^d. (*Indentura Ricardi Grene de uno manso manmitorio*, 19 Feb. Edw. IV. 8, A. 6, 1, fol. 54.) In the lease he is described as *Clericus de Wigorn*.

From Grene onwards the succession of organists is quite regular.

Before continuing the history of the subsequent organists, it may be of interest to give in chronological order a few entries which bear upon the music of the Cathedral in these early years. All are from the Accounts of the Master of the Chapel.

Parchment for a book of Organum made into an account-roll.

C. 253. 1395-6. In pergamenno empto pro j libro de organia facto in rotulum iiij^d

Early mention of an Organist.

C. 267. 1415. After the stipend of William Bele, "clericus in capella," "in reward dat. T. Hulet cantant. et organizantis in capella per vices ij^s
Item ij aliis pueris cantantibus ibidem per vices xx^s

Expenses of outside singers.

C. 279. 1434-5. In expensis factis circa Dominum Thomam Whyngle et Dominum Thomam Bryden et Ricardum Synger de Malmesbury cantancium in capelle hoc anno ad diuersas vices xxiij^d

Setting of a Respond "Honor Virtus" sung at the reception of a bishop.*

C. 284. 1475-6. Et solutis pro uno cantico vocato *honor virtus*† habito in capella domini ducis Clarencie ad recipiendum episcopum erga installationem suam ij^s

Purchase of an Organ.

C. 291. 1503-4. Et datis Roberto Alchurch in emptione organorum vj^s viij^d

* John Alcock, trans. from Rochester Sept. 18, 1476.

† I learn from Dame Laurentia that this is the *Respond* from the Office of the Holy Trinity, used at the reception of a bishop, but I am unable to identify the Duke of Clarence's Chapel.

Settings of Magnificat, Masses "of square note" and of five parts,
Antiphons, etc.

*1521-2.	Pro factura duorum Magnificat et unius misse de square note et alterius misse de quinque par- tibus una cum le prikinge ejusdem	xiijs iiij ^d
„	Pro le prykinge unius libri de prikesong ad usum officii hoc anno	vjs viij ^d
„	Pro duobus antifonis	iijs iiij ^d

Richard Grene's name continues to figure in the Chapel Master's Accounts as Organist until the last quarter of 1483-4, when he was succeeded by

JOHN HAMPTON (1484—1522).

This musician was probably the son of the "John Hampton, Esquire, Citizen of Worcester," whose name figures so constantly in the St. Swithun's Charters between 1450 and 1481†. Hampton senior was a mercer who took a prominent part in the life of the city and was one of the Bayliffs of Worcester in 1477.‡ In 1459 he had been concerned in a rebellion, as is shewn by an order in the Cathedral Records from Henry VI., dated 9 April 1460, for the reception of the oaths of John Hampton and Henry Lombe, "whom we have pardoned . . . for their rebellion before the twentieth of November last."

[Cathedral Records. A. 6 (1), fol. 17.]

Henricus, dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, dilecto sibi in Christo Thome, Priori ecclesie Cathedralis beate Marie Wygorniensis salutem. Mandamus vobis quod sacramenta Johannis Hampton et Henrici Lombe quibus nos per litteras nostras patentes perdonavimus et relaxavimus omnimodas prodiciones, insurrectiones, rebelliones, mundra, transgressiones et offensas per ipsos ante vicesimum diem Novembris ultimo preteritum qualitercunque factas sive perpetratas prout in eisdem litteris plene liquet quas vobis mittimus per latorem, juxta formam cujusdam cedula presentibus intercluse separatim recipiatis, et cum sacramenta illa sic receperitis tunc litteras predictas prefatis Johanni et Henrico liberetis indilate. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium ix die Aprilis Anno regni nostri tricesimo octavo.

Immediately under is the oath :—

I, A. B., shalbe from this day forthward duryng my lyf tyme feithfull and obeisaunt liegeman and subgette unto my souvraigne lord the Kyng Henry

* These are taken from *Accounts of the Priory of Worcester*, 1521-2, ed. by Canon J. M. Wilson. (Worc. Hist. Soc. 1907.)

† *Collectanea Charters* (Worc. Hist. Soc.), pp. 134—8, etc. ‡ *Nash*, Appendix, p. cxi.

the sext as well in the thynges concerning the seurte and the wele of his most noble persone as the suerte and the wele of his most high astate preeminence dignite and prerogatyve roiall And also I shalbe true and faithfull unto the most noble and high persones and astates of the Quene my souvraigne lady beyng the wyf of my seyde souvraigne lord and of my redoubted lord Edward Prynce of Wales firste begoten son of my seide souvraigne lord And if I may knowe at eny tyme hereafter any persone of what astate degre or condicion he be of that woll presume to attempte to eny thynk contrary to these thynges a for specified or of eny of them I shall hertely and truly lette it aftyr my power and disclose it unto somme of them as the case shall requir or els to sume other persone whyche at my request and prayer I shall trust for certayn that will open it unto them or to sume of them withoute delaye or feyntise by the trouthe and feyth I owe unto almyghty god and to my seyde souvraigne lord and by the othe y^t I make uppon the present boke at thys tyme.

A later page in the same Monastic Register gives the deed of appointment of John Hampton the younger. It is dated July 30, 1486 and shews that for services past and future he is to receive during his life an annual payment or rent of 14 white loaves called "Monken lovus," and 14 gists of ale, delivered weekly by the Cellarer, and the sum of £3 13s. 4d. in equal portions at the four quarters of the year, from the Master of the Chapel. In consideration of which he is to be present and walk in the choir in all seven-feasts and Solemn Processions in general occurring, on cope-days and alb-days. He, or his deputy, is to provide for the Lady Mass, daily celebrated and to be celebrated, and the mass of the Name of Jesus on every Friday throughout the year, and also the Antiphon of the Name of Jesus on Fridays throughout Lent and the Antiphon of Our Lady, viz., *Salve Regina*, throughout Lent.

He must not absent himself from his office nor go away to a distance for more than a month, without the special consent of the Master of the Chapel. And without wages or fees he is also to train and teach the boys of the Chapel, eight in number, to sing in plainsong and prick-song on every day in the year, immediately after vespers, the Antiphon of the Blessed Mary, in the New Chapel, built and rebuilt by John Alcock, Bishop of Worcester; and, in the same Chapel, a Requiem Mass for the Faithful Departed, four times a year, at the times set apart for the same.

[A. 6 (1), f. lxxxij.]

Deed of appointment of John Hampton (dated July 30, 1486).

Joh^{es} Hm̃pton.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presentes littere peruenerint seu quos infra scripta tangunt seu tangere potuerint quomodolibet in futurum Robertus

Multon prior Ecclesie Cathedralis beate Marie Wigorn et ejusdem loci conuentus salutem in domino sempiternam Noveritis nos unanimi consensu et assensu nostris dedisse concessisse et hoc presenti scripto nostro confirmasse dilecto seruienti nostro Johanni Hampton pro bono et fideli seruicio suo nobis et ecclesie nostre predicte ante hec tempora quam pluries impenso et imposterum impendendo quoddam annuale stipendium sive annualem redditum capiendum de nobis et successoribus nostris durante vita sua viz qualibet septimana quatuordecim panes albos vulgariter nuncupatos Monken lovus et quatuordecim gustatas anglice Justys* seruicie conuentualis de quibus monachis ministratur per liberationem celerarii nostri pro tempore existenti ac tres libras tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios in pecuniis numeratis legalis monete anglie eidem Johanni per manus Magistri Capelle ecclesie nostre qui pro tempore fuerit ad quatuor anni terminos viz ad festa Sancti Michaelis archangeli, Natalis domini, Annunciacionis beate marie Virginis, Natiuitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste per equales porciones fideliter et integraliter capiendas recipiendas et persoluendas proviso semper quod prefatus Johannes Choro nostro in omnibus septem festis et solempnibus processionibus omnino contingentibus in capis et albis intersit et incedat Et missam Beate Marie Virginis cotidie celebratam et celebrandam ac missam de nomine Jesu qualibet sexta feria per annum Antiphonam quoque de eodem nomine Jesu qualibet die Veneris per totam Quadragesimam et antiphonam Beate Marie viz Salve Regina per totum tempus quadragesimale per se vel per alium suum sufficientem deputatum obseruat [*sic*] seu obseruari faciat preterea non licebit prefato Johanni Hampton se ipsum de seruicio suo alienare seu in partes remotas exire et hoc ultra unum mensem sine speciali licencia de Magistro Capelle pro tempore existente petita et optenta Et quod idem Johannes Hampton pueros Capelle viz octo in numero qui Antiphonam Beate Marie Virginis in Nova capella† ex constructione et re-edificacione reuerendi in Christo patris et domini Domini Johannis Alcock dei gratia Wigorniensis Episcopi omni die per annum immediate post vespervas, ac missam de requiem pro fidelibus defunctis quater in anno temporibus ad hoc limitatis in eadem capella diligenter obseruabunt et decantabunt in plano cantu et fracto viz prykd song absque vadiis et feodis per se petatis [*sic*] sufficienter instruat et informet habenda et tenenda recipienda et occupanda omnia et siugula premissa eidem Johanni ad terminum vite sue per se vel suum sufficientem deputatum Ita quod clericus per ipsum deputatus sit bone et honeste conuersacionis et disposicionis In quorum omnium fidem et testimonium sigillum nostrum commune presentibus duximus apponendum datum in domo nostra Capitulari Wigorn penultimo die mensis Julii Anno Domini millesimo Quadringentesimo octuagesimo [*sic*] sexto.

This deed should be compared with Bishop Alcock's Charter of endowment given on p. 6.

* See footnote p. 15. † i.e., the Capella Beate Marie in Navi. See *ante*, p. 7.

In the Accounts of the Master of the Chapel for 1489-90, Hampton is described as *Organista ac Instructor puerorum capelle Beate Marie*, and in one of the St. Swithun's Charters as *clericus*.* The term *clericus* shews that he was not one of the monks, and this is confirmed by the fact that he paid rent for his house. From the rolls of the *Magister Capelle* it would appear that some time before 1480 the Hampton family were living in Foregate Street:—

[C. 285. 1479-80.]

(Et in redditum) eidem domino episcopo pro uno tenemento in eodem vico (*i.e.*, le fforeyate strete) nuper in tenura Johannis Hampton nouiter adquisito per annum iijs x^d

In 1483-4, when he succeeded Richard Grene, he received for one quarter's stipend, with 5s. for rent of his house, the sum of 38s. 4d., while Grene's stipend for the previous three quarters was 30s. 0d.

[Accounts of the Master of the Chapel.]

C. 286. 1483-4 Et in stipendio Ricardi Grene Organiste per iiij qrt^s anni xxx^s
Et in stipendio Johannis Hampton pro unico termino
cum v^s in redditu domus sue per idem tempus xxxviijs iiij^d

This great immediate increase upon the amount which had been paid to Richard Grene must be taken as evidence that Hampton was a much more highly-skilled musician. In the *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York and Henry VII.* (edited by Sir H. Nicolas, 1831) there is an interesting entry which suggests that Hampton may have been a Gentleman, or, as the old title had it, Chaplain, of Henry the Seventh's Chapel Royal, but it is more probable that the entry must be associated in some way with that King's visit to Worcester, July 4, 1495.†

1495. Nov. 27. To John Hampton of Wourcestre, for making of Balades, in rewarde: £1.‡

* *Collectanea*, p. 49.

† See Noake's *Worcestershire Nuggets*, p. 44. I am indebted to Mr. F. T. Spackman for the reference.

‡ Davey, *History of English Music*, p. 91. I am indebted for the actual reference to Dr. W. H. Grattan Flood.

In 1489-90 the amount paid to him was increased to £8 per annum—a large sum for those days, Cratford the Schoolmaster only receiving £4.

A 5-part setting of *Salve Regina* by John Hampton is found in an early sixteenth-century MS. of English music in Eton College. The MS., which is described by Dr. M. R. James* and Mr. Barclay Squire,† is dated by Dr. James between 1500 and 1510. The volume is of noble size, the leaves measuring $23\frac{1}{4}$ by 17 inches, and the disposition of the five parts on opposite pages such that the singers were easily able to render the motet when grouped before its open pages.

In 1915, the late Mr. F. Warre Cornish, then Vice-Provost of Eton, allowed the *Salve Regina* to be photographed for the Cathedral Music Library, and the work has since been scored by Miss Townshend Warner of Harrow. It is an exceedingly interesting example of early sixteenth-century polyphony. The five parts are handled with such freedom as to shew that its author was an easy master of all the musical learning of his age. Nor is the motet lacking in evidence of Hampton's keen sense of musical effect. Of the two parts into which it is divided, the first is, on the whole, the more interesting, though the second is a finely-sustained piece of five-part writing.

In 1520-1 the Master of the Chapel records payments to John Hampton: as part of his pay, 14 monks' loaves and 14 gists of convent ale a week delivered by the Cellarer, for the year £4 . 6 . 8; to the same by the Cellarer, £2; to the same by the Sacrist, £1 . 3 . 4; to the same as part of his pay for the year, 10^s . 0.

[A. xvii, f. 55.]

1520-1. Et computat solum Johanni Hampton ut de parte stipendii
sui per xiiij^{cem} panes monachales et xiiij^{cem} gustatas‡
seruisie conuentus septimanatim per deliberacionam
celerarii, per annum iij^{li} vj^s viij^d
Et eidem Johanni Hampton per manus celerarii nostri per
annum x^l^s

* *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Eton College*. Cambridge, 1895. The MS. is No. 178.

† *Archæologia*, vol. lvi.

‡ The *gustata* (*justa* or *justata*), English, *just* or *gist*, was a great jug holding a single monk's allowance: the measure varied from 1 gallon to $1\frac{1}{3}$ gallons. Mr. G. G. Coulton cites *Dugdale-Caley*, II., 30b; *Bath Chartularies* (Somerset Record Soc.), pt. II., p. 28, and *Westminster Consuetudinares* (Henry Bradshaw Soc.), p. 129.

Et eidem Johanni per manus sacriste per annum	xxiijs ^s iiij ^d
Et eidem Johanni nomine partis stipendii sui per annum	x ^s *

The entries are interesting as shewing how the sum of £8 mentioned in 1489-90 was made up.

In the same year there is a record of the sum of 3s. 4d. being paid by the Tumbarius for a breakfast to John Hampton and the Chapel boys on St. Wulstan's Day.

[A. xvii, f. 64.]

Item solutum pro Jantaculo facto Johanni Hampton et pueris capelle in die Sancti Wolstani	3 ^s 4 ^d
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In Feb. 1522 Hampton was succeeded by

DANIEL BOYS (1522—1540?),

whose appointment as Organ player, Singingman and Instructor of the Boys of the Chapel is dated 3 Feb. 1522.

[Prior's Registers, A. 6 (2), f. cxxvij b.]

Carta Danielis Boys pro officio de le Organe pleyr.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens Scriptum peruenerit Willelmus More ex diuina gracia dei Prior monasterii Beate Marie Virginis Wigorniensis et eiusdem loci conuentus Salutem in Domino sempiternam. Sciatis nos prefatos Priorem et conuentum unanimi assensu et consensu concessisse et hoc presenti scripto nostro confirmasse dilectum nobis in Christo Daniele Boys officium siue seruicium vulgariter nuncupatum Organ player et Syngyngman pro bono et laudabili seruicio suo impenso et imposterum impendendo, vita sua durante, quandam annualem redditum uel stipendium sibi annuatim soluendum et deliberandum modo et forma sequentibus; videlicet, qualibet septimana 14 panes monachales albos, anglice white monnks loues, et iiij^{or} gustatas seruicie, anglice gists of ale, de meliori et de illis quod† monachi septimanatim biberint deliberandas per Celerarium monasterii predicti pro tempore existentem, et pannum pro nova toga de secta generosorum monasterii predicti annuatim deliberandum per dictum Celerarium monasterii, uel in pecuniis numeratis nomine eiusdem panni 16^s sterlingorum; Necnon in pecuniis numeratis dicto Danieli soluendis 57^s et 4 denarios sterlingorum modo et forma sequentibus; In primis, per manus dicti Celerarii 24^s et per manus Sacriste dicti monasterii pro tempore existentis, 23^s 4^d, et per manus

* The Accounts for 1516 (A. xii, f. 38) shew that this sum was for the instruction of the boys. In the same Accounts Hampton is described as "syngger."

† quas?

Magistri Capelle eiusdem pro tempore existentis 10^a ad iiij^{or} anni terminos viz ad festa Annunciacionis B^{te} Marie Virginis Natiuitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste Sancti Michaelis Archangeli Natalis domini per equales porciones Habendum gaudendum et percipiendum officium siue seruicium predictum una cum stipendio et annuali redditu predicto in forma predicta annuatim soluendo et septimanatim deliberando prefato Danieli vita sua durante sine impedimento uel contradiccione aliquorum officiatorum predictorum qui pro tempore existent.

Et ulterius nos prefati Prior et Conuentus concesserunt prefato Danieli nominacionem unius pueri essendi in Capella monasterii predicti de numero viij puerorum, sic quod omnino unus eorum sit de dicto numero ex nominacione et eleccione predicti Danielis.

Pro quibus quidem donacionibus et concessionibus predictis idem Daniel concessit diatim custodire missam Beate Marie Virginis in capella eiusdem Marie infra ecclesiam dicti monasterii ad horam ordinatam cum canticis planis fractis et organis, et qualibet die Veneris simili modo custodire missam de nomine Jesu ad horam et locum in dicta ecclesia consuetos, ac eciam diligenter attendere diatim et cum necesse fuerit, tam in choro quam extra chorum in omni- bus festis principalibus et duplicibus et in octauis eorum, necnon in omnibus aliis temporibus congruis et consuetis obseruare officium siue seruicium predictum.

Ac eciam in hiis et in omnibus aliis rebus obseruandis et faciendis sit in propria persona sua et non per suos deputatos, nisi (per) infirmitates egritudines vel alias causas rationales in contrarium causantes, tunc per suum sufficientem deputatum siue deputatos.

Et eciam dictus Daniel concessit obedire dictos Priorem et conuentum in omnibus mandatis licitis et honestis secundum facultatem et erudicionem suam, necnon instruere informare et docere dictum numerum viij puerorum de capella monasterii predicti in canticis planis et fractis, et specialiter in missis Beate Marie Virginis, nominis Jesu, festorum principalium, tam in illis seruiciis quam in vesperis cantandis, ac in antiphonis fundatis et consuetis diatim obseruandis, et in tempore quadragesimali similiter.

Prouiso semper quod si aliquis puerorum de numero capelle predictae, quod vellent, desiderare* erudicionem canticorum vocatorum Descant, tam in cantacione quam in ludicione super organum easdem† quod tunc talis puer vel discipulus, essente [sic] de dicto numero, pro erudicione in dicta sciencia dabit dicto Danieli quaternatim 12^d pro suo labore et diligencia[m] sua[m] docente illam scienciam.

In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum commune presentibus est appensum. Datum in domo nostra capitulari ii^o die mensis Februarii anno regni Regis Henrici octauⁱ post conquestum terciodecimo.

[Translation.]

Daniel Boys' Deed for the office of the Organ player.

To all Christ's faithful whom this writing reaches, William More, by the divine grace of God Prior of the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary of

* desiderat ?

† ejusdem ?

Worcester, and the Convent of the same place: everlasting salvation in the Lord.

Know that we, the aforesaid Prior and Convent, with unanimous assent and consent, have granted, and by this present writing of ours have confirmed, our beloved in Christ Daniel Boys to the office or service commonly called Organ player and Singing man; and in return for his good and laudable service, rendered and hereafter to be rendered, while his life lasts, a certain annual payment or stipend, to be paid annually and delivered to him in manner and form as follows: that is to say, in each week 14 *panes monachales altos* (in English white monks loaves); and four* *gustatas servicie* (in English gists of ale) of the better sort, and of those kinds which the monks drink weekly, to be delivered by the Cellarer for the time being of the monastery; and cloth for a new gown, of the style for gentlemen of the monastery aforesaid, to be delivered annually by the said Cellarer of the monastery; or in actual cash, in lieu of that cloth, sixteen shillings sterling. Moreover, in actual cash to be paid to the said Daniel, fifty seven shillings and four pence in manner and form as follows: In the first place by the hands of the said cellarer 24 shillings and by the hands of the sacrist of the said monastery for the time being 23^s and 4^d; and by the hands of the Master of the Chapel of the same 10 shillings at the four quarter days of the year, viz., at the feasts of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary the Virgin, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, St. Michael the Archangel, and the Birthday of the Lord, in equal parts. The aforesaid office or service, together with the stipend and annual payment aforesaid to be paid annually in the way aforesaid, and to be delivered every week to the aforesaid Daniel while his life lasts, to be held, enjoyed and received, without impediment or gainsaying from any of the aforesaid officials for the time being.

And further we the said Prior and Convent have granted to the aforesaid Daniel the nomination of one boy out of the number of the eight boys in the Chapel of the aforesaid monastery, so that invariably one of their number shall be of the nomination and selection of the said Daniel.

In return for these donations and grants aforesaid, the same Daniel undertakes daily to take charge of the mass of the Blessed Mary the Virgin in her Chapel in the said monastery, at the hour arranged, with plainsong and prick-song† and organ [accompanied] and on every Friday in like manner to take charge of the mass of the name of Jesus, at the time and place usual in the said church, and also diligently to attend, every day and when it may be necessary, both in the choir, and out of the choir, on all the principal and the double feasts and their octaves, and also at all other suitable and customary time to discharge the office and service aforesaid.

And further in discharging and performing these and all other duties, let it be in his own person, and not by his deputies, unless it be from infirmity, sickness, or other reasonable causes to the contrary; and then by competent deputy or deputies.

Moreover the said Daniel agrees to obey the said Prior and Convent in all

* In actual practice he received fourteen. See next page. † i.e., harmony.

lawful and honest commands to the best of his power and knowledge; and to instruct, train and teach the said number 8 of boys of the chapel of the said monastery in plainsong and harmony, and specially in the masses of the Blessed Mary the Virgin, of the name of Jesus, of the principal feasts, both in those services and in singing vespers, and in the established and ordinary antiphons to be observed daily, and in like manner during the time of Lent.

Provided always that if any of the boys belonging to the staff of the aforesaid chapel should desire instruction in the chant called Descant, both how to sing it and how to play it upon the organ, that then such boy or pupil, being on the said staff for instruction in the said art shall give to the said Daniel every quarter 12 pence for his pains and diligence in teaching that art.*

In testimony whereof our common seal is affixed to these presents.

Given in our Chapter House on the 3rd day of the month of February, in the 13th year of the reign of Henry 8th after the Conquest.

[1522—1525. A. xii, fol. 114.]

Lyvereye of bred.

Itm̃ to Maistr Daniell y^e kep of Organs. xiiij Monckloffs.†

Lyverey Ale.

Itm̃ to y^e finger and kep of y^e organs. xiiij gysts of covent ale.

[1529. *Ibid.*, fol. 130.] Fixed payments made by Cellarer.

Itm̃ Danieli Boyce, organ pleyer, per ann^m xxiiij^s

Boys seems to have held the appointment until the Dissolution of the Monastery. He is last mentioned in the St. Michael's Accounts, where he figures as Churchwarden as late as 1543. He must have died some time before 1547. In that year his name appears in a list of "detts" owing to the church.

The following inventory, which was taken about 1540, gives a good idea of the nature of the Cathedral music in pre-Reformation days:—

'Maistr' of the Chapell.' [Harl. 604, fol. 117.]

Item, a surples for the maister of the chylderne, and vj surplusses ffor the chylderne, a masse bocke of—with pryckesonge, wheryn ys v parts, and iiij parts, iiij pryckesonge masse bockes of pawper, ij hother bockes . . . on with antems, and salmes yn hym, iiij lyttle pryckesonge bocks of masses, v masse bockes of v parts, v bockes with salve festa dies, and scrolls belongynge to the ij pawper bockes yn them be the v parts of other songs: a . . . note bocke burdyde,‡ a parchment bocke of salmes burdyde, ij masses of v parts yn parchment skrowlls, a pawper bocke of iiij parts, a pawper bocke with the vitatoris benedict' te deum yn pryckyng, ther be iiij or iiij antems in scrowes.

* The text in this paragraph is corrupt, but the sense seems to be as above.

† Wrongly assigned by Noake (*Monastery*, p. 473) to 1448, A.D.

‡ *i.e.*, bound in boards.

Item, a lampe of brasse yn owr lady chapell hangynge, iij coffers to put yn the stufe with lockes and keys. In the chambre ys a table burde with ij trestylls, a benche made fast, ij formes, a coffer.

[The gaps in the above represent places where the MS. is torn.]

THE CATHEDRAL MUSIC UNDER HENRY VIII'S NEW FOUNDATION.

The Monastery was surrendered to the Crown in January 1540, and a year later the Cathedral was refounded by letters patent (Jan. 24, 1541). Leach prints (*Early Documents*, pp. 117, 120) two schemes for the New Foundation, the second of which appears to have been operative from 1541 to 1544, when it was superseded by the Statutes which finally determined the manner in which the Cathedral was to be governed. These were given in Worcester by the King's Commissioners 31 July 1544.

For the music of the Cathedral they provided ten Minor Canons, a Master of the Choristers, a Deacon (or "Gospeller"), a Sub-deacon (or "Pystoler")* eight Lay-Clerks and ten Choristers.†

The Master of the Choristers was to be skilled in organ-playing and in singing. It was his duty to train up the boys as well in modesty of behaviour as in singing. He was to play the organ at the proper time and to sing in divine service.‡ Bishop Heath's Injunctions for

* It was the duty of the Deacon and Sub-deacon to sing or read the Gospel and Epistle respectively. The statutes read "qui Evangelium & Epistolam legerint" (chap. xx), but in early practice, at any rate, Epistle and Gospel were sung (Receiver-General's Accounts for 1543-4, quoted in *Early Documents*, p. 159). Another part of their duty was to sing the Litany together, and this custom was maintained until 1681, when a Chapter Order directed that it should be sung at the Desk by one Minor Canon and one Lay Clerk (A. lxxvi, p. 118). According to the answer made by the Dean and Chapter to a petition preferred to Parliament against them by the Worcester Corporation in 1641, both Deacon and Sub-deacon were Lay Clerks.

"The Epistoller and Gospeller are not by statute to be priests, but lay clerks, as in other churches, and these clerks are to read the Litany" [Noake, *Monastery*, p. 559.]

Deacon and Sub-deacon are always mentioned separately and apart from the eight lay clerks in the statutes, but the *status* given to them in chap. xxix (*De Communi Mensa omnium Ministrorum*) and again in chap. xxx (*De Vestibus Ministrorum*) would appear to bear out the Chapter's contention. It is almost certain however that the Founder intended them to hold the orders implied by their titles, though as early as 1543 the Injunctions of Rochester shew that Laymen had held the office of Sub-deacon. (*Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, Alcuin Club, 1910, ii, 91.)

† It is interesting to notice that the endowment of Gloucester—like Worcester, a cathedral of the New Foundation—was for six Minor Canons, six Lay Clerks, a Deacon, a Sub-deacon, eight Choristers, and a Master of the Choristers. (Atkyns, *History of Gloucestershire*.)

‡ This was the custom for some centuries at the Chapel Royal. The organ played little part in the early services and the organist was chiefly occupied in teaching the choir.

Rochester, 1543, throw some additional light upon the duties of the office in the early days of the Foundation.

[*Visitations and Injunctions*, Ed. by W. H. Frere, D.D., Alcuin Club, 1910, ii. 96.]

. . . . the Master of the choristers shall be at Mattins Mass and Evensong in all double feasts and ix lessons, and shall himself keep the organs at the same feasts. And also in Commemorations shall by him or by some other at his appointment cause the organs to be kept. And he to cause the choristers to sing an anthem after every Compline in every work-day.

The Choristers were to be of tender age, with voices clear and apt for singing.

The Injunctions for St. George's, Windsor, shew that the chorister's life was a hard one. The system, if strenuous and one-sided, at least had the merit of turning out fine musicians.

[*Ibid.*, ii. 227.]

The Grandsire of the Choristers (i.e. Schoolmaster in Grammar) shall teach the ten choristers every work-day in the year from six of the clock in the morning until eight and from twelve of clock daily until two of clock. The rest of the day the teacher of music shall instruct the said choristers diligently to sing and play upon the instruments.

Minor Canons and Lay-Clerks alike were to be skilled in singing, and all were to take part in the services.

[*Worc. Cath. Statutes*, chap. 32. Trans. by Leach.]

That Prayers and petitions may continually be done in our church decently and in order, and that every day the praise of God may be celebrated with singing and thanksgiving, We decree and ordain that the Minor Canons and Clerks, with the deacon and sub-deacon and the Master of the Choristers, shall perform the Divine offices in the Choir of our Temple, after the fashion and right of other Cathedral churches; except that we do not wish them to be bound to sing offices in the night.

What the "fashion and right of other Cathedral Churches" was is partly shewn by the following extracts from the Rochester Injunctions before quoted. They throw further light, too, upon the nature of the services and the duties of the choir in the early days of the Reformation.

. . . . the priests, clerks, and choristers, with the Master of the choristers shall sing every even and day of feasts *duplex, minus duplex, maius ac duplex, et*

principalis duplex. And every holy-day in the year an anthem in pricksong* immediately that Compline be fully done and ended.

. . . . on work-days the choristers shall sing the Lady Mass in pricksong with the organs; and on every holy-day, the priests, clerks, and master of the choristers, and the choristers to sing the Lady Mass in pricksong with the organs, except principal feasts and feasts of *maius duplex*, and except when high mass is of our Lady, then the Lady Mass to be said And to the intent that our Lady Mass shall be sung in pricksong, Prime and Hours to be omitted.

The Worcester Statutes of Henry VIII., while affording strong proofs of that King's musical leanings, emphasise in a remarkable way the central position which music was to occupy in the worship of the Cathedral. When all the conditions of the statutes were fulfilled, such a scheme must have provided a choir which was finely equipped for the interpretation of the great English Church Music of the sixteenth and later centuries. Its one weak spot was in the provision of only ten choristers. The earlier scheme, to which I have referred as binding upon the Cathedral from 1541 to 1544, had provided twelve,† but from 1545 onwards ten only were maintained in accordance with the new Statutes, the provisions of which were in some other respects disregarded (e.g., in some of the payments made) and the practice of 1541—1544 adhered to.

The voices were probably distributed so as to give 5 choristers and a few probationary-choristers, 3 Contra Tenors, 3 Tenors, and 4 Basses to each side‡ (Decani and Cantoris). The effect of such a body of voices in the great polyphonic music of the sixteenth century must have been magnificent, and in later times the many-voiced anthems of Gibbons and Tomkins must have been invested with a sonority which in these days of straitened choirs we can scarcely realise. From the twenty male singers provided by Henry VIII.'s Statutes, the Choir, by a steady process of attrition, dwindled through the centuries until it at last arrived in the nineteenth century at a point when, apart from a few supernumeraries never contemplated by the Statutes, the whole force of male voices available for the rendering of the great masterpieces of English Church music was *eight*.§ Such is the state of things to-day,

* *i.e.*, in harmony (as opposed to plainsong).

† The names of the twelve choristers are given in the Accounts for 1543-4—the earliest accounts extant of the New Foundation.

‡ About a century later, when the Chapel Royal choir waited upon Charles I. in his Scottish journey in 1633, it consisted of 8 Children, 6 Contra Tenors, 4 Tenors and 6 Basses. (Lafontaine, *The King's Musick*, p. 84.)

§ The musical duties of the Minor Canons being confined to chanting the Services.

and even this number must be diminished by the necessary provision of a rest for each member by granting leave of absence from two services in every week.

The first Master of the Choristers of the New Foundation was

RICHARD FISHER (1541?—1569),

whose name first appears in the Accounts of the Receiver General for 1543-1544. He is there described as Preceptor Choristarum or Master of the Queresters. Fisher was possibly a son of John Fyssher, gentleman of the Chapel Royal in the reigns of Henry VII., Henry VIII. and Edward VI.*

[A. cciii, Treasurer's Accounts for 1543-1544.]

Et in stipendio sive salario Ricardi Fyssher, preceptoris corustarum ad cantandum, vulgariter vocati the Master of the Queresters, per annum, sic sibi ad terminum vite sue per cartam Regie magestatis concessio

ad £11 6 8

Although it is clear from the above that the Office which Fisher held was a freehold, the ecclesiastical upheavals of Queen Mary's reign had led to some uncertainty as to the position of the Cathedral Statutes, and accordingly the Dean and Chapter were careful at the accession of Queen Elizabeth to confirm Fisher's original deed of appointment by the following patent, dated April 3, 1559. The new deed gave to Fisher the power to distrain upon the Chapter's manor of Himbleton in the event of non-payment of his stipend.

[Worc. Cath. Mun., A. vii. 2, f. 53.]

Richard ffisher, Magister Choristarum.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos hoc presens scriptum peruenerit Sethe Holland decanus ecclesie cathedralis Christi et beate Marie Virginis Wigorn. et ejusdem ecclesie capitulum salutem in Domino sempiternam Sciatis nos prefatos Decanum et capitulum unanimi assensu et consensu nostris pariter et voluntate totius capituli nostri dedisse concessisse ac per presenti scripto nostro confirmasse dilecto nobis in Christo Ricardo ffysher pro bono et fideli seruicio nobis et ecclesie nostre hactenus impenso et imposterum impendendo officium nostrum "magister choristarum" ecclesie nostre predictae spectans cum omnibus feodis vadiis advantagiis et proficuis predicto officio pertinentibus sive spectantibus. Ac predictum Ricardum ffysher magistrum choristarum

* *Life of Purcell*, W. H. Cummings, p. 97.

secundum usum et statutum ecclesie nostre predictae facimus ordinamus et constituimus per presentes Habendum gaudendum exercendum et occupandum officium predictum prefato Ricardo fysher per se vel per sufficientem deputatum suum sive sufficientes deputatos suos durante vita naturali ipsius Ricardi. Et ulterius noveritis nos prefatos Decanum et Capitulum dedisse concessisse et hoc presenti scripto nostro confirmasse prefato Ricardo fyssher pro exercitione et occupatione officii predicti quandam annuitatem sive annualem redditum undecim librarum sex solidorum et octo denariorum bone et legalis monete anglie solvendum ad quatuor anni terminos videlicet ad festa Natiuitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste. Sancti Michaelis archangelis Natalis Domini et Annunciationis Beate Marie Virginis per manus thesaurarii ecclesie nostre cathedralis predictae qui pro tempore fuerit durante vita naturali ejusdem Ricardi per equales porciones. Et si contingat predictam annuitatem sive annualem redditum xj^{li} vj^s viij^d a retro fore in parte vel in toto per unum mensem post aliquod festum festorum predictorum quibus ut promittitur solvi debeat quod tunc bene licebit prefato Ricardo fysher in manerium nostrum de hymulton in comitate Wygorniensi cum suis pertinentiis intrare et distringere districtionibus sic ibidem captis liciter asportare effugare et penes se retinere quousque de predicta annuitate sive annuali redditu una cum arreragiis ejusdem si que fuerint dicto thesaurario plenarie fuerit satisfactum et persolutum. In Cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum commune presentibus apposuius datum in domo nostra capitulari Wigorn. tertio die mensis Aprilis anno regni domine Elizabethae dei gratia anglie francie et hibernie fidei defensoris etc. primo.

Fisher was married at St. Helen's in 1543, but appears to have lived in St. Michael's, where he was made Churchwarden in 1543, and in 1551 "Keeper of the Church Stock" and one of the Six Men of the Parish (or Overseers). He was buried* Jan. 23, 1568-9 [St. Mich. Reg.]. From documents at the Worcester Probate Registry it seems that he died leaving many debts, which his second wife (whom he married in 1560) bound herself to discharge.

Fisher was succeeded in 1569 by

JOHN COLDEN (1569—1581).

[A. ccxvi. Treasurer's Accounts† for 10, 11 Eliz. (1568-1569).]

Item. stipend. Johⁿ^{is} Colden Instructoris Choristarum ad cantand. infra ecclⁱ^{am} predⁱ^{am} xlii vi^s viij^d p. annū.

* Probably in the Cathedral.

† The early Accounts, which ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, are very undetailed. They never give more than one name to each office, even in cases where a fresh appointment was made within the year, as in 1568-1569, when Richard Fisher held office from Michaelmas to January and John Colden for the rest of the year.

Previous to his appointment he had been a Lay Clerk. A Chapter deed of Nov. 25, 7 Eliz. (1564),* grants him the lease of a house "in St. Michael's parish within the cimetory." He is then described as "On of the Syngyngmen." His name last appears in the Accounts for 1579-80.

WILL OF JOHN COLDEN.

[Worcester Probate Registry, No. 24, 1581.]

In dei nomine amen, the second day of Aprill 1581. I John Colden M^r of the choristers in the Cathedral Church of Worcester sicke in bodye but of good an p'fect memorie thanks be given to God make my last will and testament as folowethe. First I bequeathe my soule to the almightie god and my bodie to the earthe. Item I give an bequeathe to Anne my wiffe my best brasse pott and a peare of shets whiche I brought from Hareford and xx^s in money. Item I give and bequeathe to Margarett Colbroke dwelling in Havant in the countie of Southampton ix^{li} in money. Item I give and bequeathe to Elizabeth the wiffe of William Peter thonger† dwelling in Arundell in the countie of Sussex v^{li} in money. Item I bequeathe to Nathanyell Gyles my clavycordes and all my songe Books. The reste of all my goods not gyven nor bequeathed I gyve and bequeathe to my hostes Jone Walker widow and to John Walker her sone whom I do ordeyne and make my executor of this my Last Will and testament. Wittenes herewith Roger ffollyott Nathaniell Giles John Snede thong'r John Walker and other.

Proved 11th day of April 1581.

Attached to it is the Inventory.

The Inventorie of all the goodes Late John Colden M^r of the Choristers in the Cathedrall Church of Worcester praysed bie Roger ffollyott Thom^s Malter John Snede and other the ix Aprill 1581.

In p'mis a fether bed	xxiiii ^s
Item a gowne	xxvi ^s viii ^d
Item on other gowne	x ^s
Item on other gowne	v ^s
Item a fryce gowne	vi ^s viii ^d
Item a fryce cote	ii ^s
Item iii dubletts	x ^s
Item hose and sloppes	vi ^s viii ^d
Item hatte and cappes	iii ^s
Item shurts	vi ^s viii ^d
Item shoes	xx ^d

* A. vii. 3, fol. 79.

† i.e. the younger.

Item iii peare of shets and a table cloth	xvi ^s
Item a surples	iii ^s iii ^d
Item iii pillowe beres	ii ^s vi ^d
Item a brasse pott	v ^s
Item ii coffers	v ^s
Item in ready money	xv ^l
Item in good debts owyng to hym	vii ^l xvii ^s
Item a chamber pott and a brand Yron	xii ^d
Item a carpett	ii ^s
Sume	xxix ^{li} xiiii ^s ii ^d
Deduct for funeralles	xxx ^s
Et soe remanes	xxviii ^{li} iii ^s ii ^d

Dated April 9, 1581.

At his death Colden was succeeded* by

NATHANIEL GYLES (1581—85),

who was born in or near Worcester† in 1558 or 1559. The family of Gyles was a well-known Worcestershire family in the sixteenth century, and some of its members were living in St. Helens and St. Clements. In Bloxam's *Register of Magdalen College* Gyles is wrongly stated to have been chorister there 1559—61. The mistake has caused a good deal of confusion, but the various records which exist in Worcester have at last made most of the facts of the early part of his career clear. He was probably a pupil of John Colden and after his appointment in 1581 remained at Worcester until Michaelmas 1585, when he was appointed Master of the Children of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, apparently succeeding Richard Farrant.

All the authorities, following an Indenture dated 1595 given in Ashmole MS. 1125 and quoted by Bloxam, have assigned 1595 as the year of Nathaniel Gyles' appointment to St. George's, but finding that the following marriage bond existed at Worcester (Worc. Wills, 44a),

1587 { Gyles, Nathaniel, Windsor Berks.
Rowland als Stainer, Anne, Worcester

I sought the help of the Rev. H. A. Wilson, Librarian of Magdalen College, and of Canon Dalton of Windsor, who very kindly went into the matter and established the fact that the 1595 indenture was one which was re-made every year, all the Chapter officers being then, as

* Only Gyles's name is given in the Accounts for the year 1580-81, but Colden's will shews that he could not have been appointed before April 1581. See footnote, p. 24.

† Chambers' *Biographical Illustrations of Worcestershire*.

they are now, appointed for twelve months only, and it was quite clear from the Treasurer's Accounts that Gyles must have been appointed in 1585.

The Erary of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, shows that on Oct. 1, 1586, William Wilson, Canon and Treasurer, entered on his roll that he had received from Nathaniel Gyles for the rent of his house within the Castle 26s. 8d. due for one whole year from Michaelmas preceding, and that Gyles had received £81 6s. 8d. for his salary and that of 10 choristers and for providing them with food and all other necessities, according to the contract and indenture made by him with the Chapter. Gyles was not appointed Organist of St. George's until Nov. 8, 1633. On Nov. 4, 1605, he took a lease from the Windsor Chapter of Honywood's House in the Town of Windsor, opposite the Parish Church for 40 years, as Nathaniel Gyles, Esquire, Master of the Children of His Majesty's Chapel; this was renewed to him as N.G., doctor of musique Dec. 3, 1624, and to his widow in 1634.

The Indenture referred to above is as follows:—

[Ashmole MS., No. 1125.]

The Dean and Canons of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, by Deed dated 1st October, 1595, nominate Nathaniel Gyles, B.M., to be Clerk in the Chapel, and one of the Players on the Organs there, and also to be Master, Instructor, Tutor, and Creansor, or Governor of the ten Choristers, agreeing to give him an annuity of £81 6s. 8d., and a dwelling-house within the castle, called the *Old Commons*, wherein John Mundie did lately inhabit, with all appurtenances, as one Richard Farrant enjoyed the same. The stipend to be paid monthly by the Treasurer, over and beside all other gifts, rewards, or benevolence that may be given to the Choristers for singing of Ballads, Plays, or the like; also such reasonable leave of absence as the statutes allow, except when Her Majesty shall be present, or an Installation or Funeral of any noble person shall be solemnized, on condition that the said Nathaniel Gyles shall procure meet and apt Choristers within the space of three months after avoidance (Her Majesty's Commission for the taking of children being allowed unto him), and that he shall instruct them in Singing, Pricksong, and Descant, and bring up such as be apt to the Instrument; and that he shall find them sufficient meat and drink, apparel, bedding and lodging at his own costs within the *New Commons* lately appointed for them; and that he shall find a sufficient deputy during the times of sickness and absence.

Gyles married Anne Stainer, the eldest daughter of John Stainer, at St. Helen's Church, Worcester, on June 14, 1587. The Stainers were one of the great families of Clothiers in the city. John Stainer, who

died March 28, 1580, had married a daughter of Robert Yowle, Member for Worcester, and is described as "the greatest and gravest magistrate of this city of his time" (*Nash*, Appendix, 136). Gyles was admitted Mus.Bac. at Oxford 26th June 1585, when he described himself as having been 12 years a student in Music, and Mus.Doc. 1622. It is possible that he was a Clerk at Magdalen College in 1577. He had been sworn Gentleman Extraordinary into the Fellowship of Her Majesty's Chapel Royal before June 1597, when he was made Master of the Children.* He was a considerable composer. In 1614 he was a contributor to Leighton's *Teares and Lamentacions of a Sorrowful Soule*, and in 1641 a complete service in C and an anthem, *O Give thanks*† (in five parts), were printed in Barnard's *Church Music*. Hawkins printed "A lesson of descant of thirtie eight Proportions" in his *History*.‡

Gyles is said to have been remarkable for his religious life and conversation. He died Jan. 24, 1633-4, and was buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. Ashmole's *Berkshire* gives the inscription upon his grave as follows:—

"In memory of that worthy Doctor, Nathaniel Gyles, Doctor of Musique, who served Queen Elizabeth, King James and King Charles. He was Master of this Free Chapell of St. George 49 years, Master of the Children of His Majesty's Chapel Royall 38 years. He married Anne, the eldest daughter of John Stayner, of the County of Worcester, Esq., with whom he lived 47 years

* There is an interesting link between Gyles and Shakespeare. A great feature on the stage in Shakespeare's day were the two companies of Children or boy-actors—the Children of St. Paul's and the Children of the Chapel Royal. The latter were to be seen for eleven years (1597—1608) at the Blackfriars Theatre, which at its completion had been let to Henry Evans and Nathaniel Gyles, then Master of the Children of Queen Elizabeth's Chapel. It was to the performance of the Chapel Royal Children under Gyles at Blackfriars Theatre that Shakespeare alluded in *Hamlet*, the competition of the boy-actors being very damaging to the Chamberlain's Company:—

"But there is, sir, an aery of children, little eyases, that cry out on the top of question, and are most tyrannically clapped for't: these are now the fashion, and so berattle the common stages,—so they call them,—that many, wearing rapiers, are afraid of goose-quills, and dare scarce come thither." (*Hamlet*, II. ii. 362—8.)

See *Shakespeare's England*. Oxford Univ. Press, vol. ii., pp. 244-45.

† This anthem is also contained in a volume of anthems in Purcell's handwriting (written in his 15th year), Fitzwilliam Museum MS. 88.

‡ Numerous compositions by Gyles exist. The British Museum in addition to much sacred and secular music by him has a 5-part Madrigal, *Cease now vain thoughts* (Add. MS. 29,372); the Royal College of Music (Barnard's MS. Collection), has various anthems and a Madrigal *Who seeks to praise*; Christ Church Library has the separate parts of a *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* (*his new service for verses*), an *organ part* to the Service in Barnard's *Church Music*, two verse anthems, *O heare my prayer Lord* and *Out of the deep*, a Latin Motet *Vestigia mea* and a Song *Hay nonny no, men are foolles*.

and had issue by her four sons and five daughters, whereof two sons and three daughters are now living. He died the 24th day of January 1633, when he had lived 75 years."

His son Nathaniel became Canon of Windsor in 1623 and of Worcester* in 1626, while his daughter Margaret married Dr. Herbert Croft, Bishop of Hereford.

Nathaniel Gyles was succeeded by

ROBERT COTTERELL (1586—1590),

The Accounts for 1585-6 to 1588-9 are missing, and only in those for 1589-90 is the name Robert Cotterell given as "Instructor Choristarum." His appointment, however, is recorded in a long Minute contained in A, xiv, f. 66. The Minute, which is in Latin states that on March 28, 1586, one Nathaniel Gyles, Master of the Choristers and Organist appeared before Dr. Thornton, the Vice-Dean, at his house,† "with this declaration, viz., if or how far any power or liberty of choice had been granted to him by the Dean and Chapter of making over the office which he held; because he then presented to the Vice-Dean his beloved in Christ Robert Cotterell, one of the lay-clerks of the Cathedral, and nominated, deputed and appointed him in his place to train the choristers, play the organ and sing the divine offices."

Acting upon this, and because Cotterell was recommended and approved by letters of Edmund, Bishop of Worcester and Visitor of the Cathedral Church, which he, Cotterell, had brought to him on a previous occasion the Vice-Dean on his own authority (in the absence of Dr. Wilson, the Dean), confirmed and appointed Cotterell to train the choristers as the Statutes directed, up to the feast of St. John the Baptist and until it was otherwise agreed and ordered by the Bishop (the aforesaid Visitor), and the Dean and Chapter. (The Chapter Act was made in the presence of Robert Warmstry, Notary and principal Registrar of the Diocese, Gervase Charington, one of the Prebends and Richard Lambe, a layman).

* In the Worcester Accounts for 1643 Canon Nathaniel Gyles frequently writes his name Chyles. Music must have run in the family, for in the next generation Nathaniel Gyles, a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and son of the Worcester Canon, was entrusted with the duty of bringing back the Magdalen College organ from Hampton Court in August 1660.

† The house of the 10th Prebendary, N.-West of the Edgar Tower.

What probably happened was that when appointed to St. George's Chapel, Windsor, Gyles, on the supposition that he had the right to do so, had informally nominated Cotterell as his successor and had entered upon his work at Windsor without having taken the proper steps to vacate his office at Worcester. It was necessary therefore that he should appear before the Vice-Dean, the Registrar and one of the Prebendaries, in whose eyes he was still Master of the Choristers, in order that due and proper appointment might be made of his successor. He was probably visiting the Stainers at the time.

The next Organist appears to have been

JOHN TOMKINS (1590).

Noake, in his *Monastery*, p. 476, apparently quoting from the Cathedral Records, has the following passage:—

“In 1590, it is said, Dean Willis* ‘on the motion of John Tomkins, organist, gave £4 for the old organ of St. Mary’s Shrewsbury.’”

In spite of a thorough search I have not been able to find the source from which this passage was taken. Nor is anything known of the matter at St. Mary’s, Shrewsbury. The Rev. W. G. Pennyman, the present Vicar, informs me that no mention is made of the sale of the organ in the Parish Accounts. There was living in Worcester at this time, however, a John Tomkins, who in after years was known as one of the successful Worcester Clothiers. I have not been able to ascertain that he was related to Thomas Tomkins who became Organist in 1596, but music ran in the Tomkins family—it hardly seemed possible to be a Tomkins without being musical—and he may have been an uncle of the Worcester Organist. He married at St. Nicholas’ Church, 15 April 1588, a daughter of Richard Wheeler, one of the Wardens of the Company of Weavers and Walkers, and in 1599 held a lease from the Dean and Chapter of a house in Northgate. Tomkins was Bailiff of Worcester in 1607 and his name occurs in a list of those who were fined for not taking knighthood in 1625. He died in November 1634.† Though his name does not figure in the Treasurer’s Accounts, it is probable that he was Organist for a short time from October 1590.

* Francis Willis was Dean of Worcester 1586—1596.

† Registers of St. Nicholas, Worcester.

In the Accounts for 1590-91 we now come across a great name, that of

NATHANIEL PATRICK (1590?—1595).

Patrick was not only one of the greatest of the Worcester musicians, but one of the greatest of his age. In spite of the fact that very little of his music has come down to us, he has long found a place amongst the great Elizabethan Church composers.

The Patricks appear to have been an old Worcester family. A Thomas Patrick was Bailiff of Worcester in 1470,* and from that time the name is constantly found in Worcester records. It is probable that the composer was a son of Gyles Patrick, a Worcester doctor who in 1579† was granted the lease of a house which had belonged “tyme out of minde” to the parish of St. Michael.‡ Dr. Patrick appears to have been the Cathedral Physician.§ He is known to have lived in the St. Michael’s house until 1590 or 1591 and died in 1598.||

Nathaniel Patrick was probably appointed Master of the Children at the end of 1590 or early in 1591. His name is only once to be found in Cathedral records other than the Treasurer’s Accounts, and very little is known of the facts of his life.

Amongst the *Delecta* or findings of Bishop Fletcher’s Visitation, held July 19, 1593, is the following:—

[A, xiv, f. 77.]

Quod choriste non rite et diligenter erudiuntur.

Dominus decrevit Magistrum Patricke monuendum pro eo. Deinde comparuit dominus Patricke et dominus monuit ei ut diligentius erudiantur.

The complaint that the boys were not properly taught must not be taken too seriously, nor did the Chapter take it so. Though there was a certain amount of slackness all round in the latter part of the 16th

* *Nash*, Appendix, p. cxi.

† *St. Michael’s Accounts*.

‡ The house was situated in the parish of St. Peter’s, “in a streete there called the Knowle” [Edgar Street]. Habington, *Survey of Worcestershire*, ii., p. 202.

§ In 1582 Dr. Patrick was granted a lease of Harvington Meadow and the sheep pasture (A. 85). On Nov. 24th, 1594, the Dean and Chapter granted him, for services past and future, an annuity of £6 13s. 4d. chargeable upon Crophorne Manor. (An Annuity to Gyles Patrick, Doctor of Medicine, A. vii. 5, fol. 95.)

The Worcester Probate Registry contains the following Marriage Bond:—

63 a. 1587 { Patrick, Gyles, D^r of Medicine, Worcester.
1 Wayneman, Dorothy, Widow.

j 1595 Gyles Patrick, Do: in Phisick, dep^{td} this lieff 15 June 1598. (St. Helen’s Registers.)

century, it is perhaps only fair to remember that the Visitors seem to have been possessed of unusually critical faculties and that they appear to have exercised them with zest.

The Worcester Probate Registry has a copy of Patrick's marriage bond:—

[Probate Registry, 1593, 78 b.]

14 Sep. 1593 { Patrick, Nathaniel, Worcester
Hassord, Elienora, St. Michael Bedwardine

(Names mentioned). John Oker alias Cook,* Dr. Arthur Cosin,† Arthur Puresory.‡

Witnesses. John Baker, John Driffield.

It will be noticed that in this bond the Christian name is given as Elienora. In the St. Michael's Registers, where the marriage, which followed immediately, is recorded, the name is given as Alice:—

[St. Michael's Registers.]

1593. Nathaniell Patricke and Alse Hassard were
married the xxiii day of Sep.

and, as will be seen later, the name Alice also appears in Patrick's will.

Alice Hassard was probably related to the William Hazard or Hassard who matriculated at Oxford in 1615, aged 19, and was Vicar of Llangullo, Radnor, 1636. The Hassards or Hazards were a Huguenot family who were descended from Peter Hazard or Hasaert, a refugee in England from the persecutions in the Low Countries under the Duke of Parma, who on returning to visit his native land was seized and burnt alive in 1568 (*Huguenots in England and Ireland*, Smiles, p. 401).

There was one child of the marriage, a son Francis, who was buried Aug. 6, 1594. A few months later the composer died. The St. Michael's Registers record his burial, March 23, 1595,

[1594-5] Mr. Nathaniell Patricke buried March xxiii§

but unfortunately there is nothing at present to indicate his age at death.

* A builder. (*St. Michael's Accounts*, p. 132.)

† Dr. Richard Cosin was Chancellor of Worcester in 1583, perhaps a son.

‡ Arthur Puresory was Chancellor 1590 to 1598. (*Nash*, Appendix, p. 168.)

§ Patrick was probably buried in the Cathedral.

WILL OF NATHANIEL PATRICK.

(Worc. Wills, vol. vii., fol. 83, and Prerog. Court of Canterbury Wills, vol. iv., p. 318.)

Dated 12 March 37 Eliz. (1595).

In the name of God Amen the twelfth day of March in the xxxvii yeere of the reigne of our soviraigne ladye Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of Englande France and Ireland defendour of the faith etc I Nathaniell Patricke of the Cathedral church of Worcester sicke in bodye but of whole and perfect remembrance (praysd be almighty god therefore) desirous in this my sicknesse to be disburdened of Worldly cares that I may have the more free recourse to the pardon of God do make and ordain this my last will and testament in manner and form following. First and principally I give and bequeath my soul to Almighty God hoping to be saved only by the merits of my Redeemer Jesus Christ and my body to the earth And as touching my worldly goods that God of his mercy hath lent me I dispose of them as followeth. Imprimis I give and bequeathe all those my landes houses tenements and hereditaments and commodities whatsoever situate lying and being within the city of Worcester to Alice my wife and to her heirs for ever. Item I give and bequeath to the said Alice my Wife x^{ls} of current money of England which her mother oweth me being part of her marriage. money all the rest of my goods and chattels moveable and unmoveable of what name or nature soever I give and bequeate to my said wife to pay my debts and to see my funeral decently performed and I appoint and constitute her my full and perfect executrix of this my last will and testament in witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal the day and yeere above written in the presence of

Edward Archepolle,* Notarye Publique.

Hum: Hoare,† Notarye Publique.

Francis Broome, John Meredyth, Francis Price.‡

The inventory taken 21 March 1594-5 follows :—

A true Inventory of all the goods chattels and detts of Nathaniell Patricke deceased late while he lived of the Cathedral church of Worcester taken the one and twentieth day of March Anno Dmi stilo Angl 1594 and praysed by Tho. Broke ffraunces Brome ffraunces Prise and John Okar.

Impmis, ii tables with frames, ii fourmes, iii formes stooles, a chaire and a court cubbord.	o. xs
Item a fire shovell, ii andirons, a paire of tongs, a paire of bellows, a frynge panne, a pair of potthooks and a gridiron.	iii ^s iiii ^d
Item ii potts, one postnett, one kettle and a chafinge dish.	x ^s
Item xxiii small peece of pewter.	iiii ^s

* Afterwards Canon of Lincoln.

† Precentor, died 1638.

‡ A notary.

Item a warming panne, a steele sticke, a loking glass, a led den peise,	
ii Candlesticks and iii Cruces.	iiii ^s
Item all the cowpry ware and an ould sawe.	ii ^s
Item wood and fagotts.	ii ^s
Item a sleight standinge bed with a testerne, a livery bedd and a truckle bedd.	vi ^s vi ^d
Item ii fether bedds, one flockbed, ii boulstrs, iii blankets, ii covletts, iii pillows, and an ould canopie.	liii ^s 4 ^d
Item ix paire of sheets, ii table clothes, ii pillow beres and xviii napkins and other linnen.	xx ^s
Item an ould virginall and an ould recorder.	x ^s
Item an ould bible and his other pnted and pap bokes.	xliii ^s liii ^d
Item ii shoots of appell, ii gownes, a cloake, a gowne cloath, and the rest of his appell.	liii ^{ls}
Item due to him a p ^{te} of his wives mariage money.	x ^{ls}

The will was proved at Worcester May 25, 1595, before Francis Willis* at xx^{li} xviii^s vi^d. As there were probably effects outside the jurisdiction of the Worcester Court, it was necessary to prove it again in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury at London. This was done June 17, 1595. Such cases are said to be not uncommon. Both wills are identical.

As a composer Nathaniel Patrick is chiefly known by his fine, complete service in G minor, one of the most beautiful services of the Elizabethan period, and one which must be ranked with the great services of Byrd and Farrant.† The setting of the Communion Service is especially remarkable for its serene beauty. Though only this service and a beautiful Madrigal or Song, *Send forth thy sighes*‡ (Brit. Mus.

* Dean.

† The Cathedral Music Library has Alto, Tenor and Bass parts of the service dated about 1675, and an Organ part about 1720, but the Communion Service is wanting in all. MS. copies exist at the Brit. Mus., Christ Church, Oxford (2 scores and 2 organ parts), Peterhouse, Cambridge, Durham and possibly elsewhere. There is also a score and 3 organ parts at Ely, which owes its Music Library to the care of James Hawkins, who was a Chorister at Worcester 1671—1674 (and perhaps later) and remained here as a pupil of Richard Davis (Organist 1664—1688) until appointed to Ely in 1682. Although in the handwriting of Thomas Kempton, Hawkins's successor, the Ely score may be based upon a copy of Worcester origin. Hawkins composed an anthem for use at Bishop Fleetwood's burial in Worcester Cathedral in 1683.

‡ Edited in 1910 by the present writer as a five-part Madrigal for voices, but I have since come to the conclusion that it was intended as a song with an accompaniment of four viols. The Madrigal shews a strong resemblance in treatment and occasionally in details to some of Byrd's songs (1589). It is probable that Patrick, like Tomkins, was a pupil of Byrd.

Add. MS. 17,786-91) together with some incomplete parts of another five-part Madrigal *Sacred Pan* (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 18,936-9), exist, the quality of these works is so fine as to lend a romantic interest to the following entry in the Stationers' Registers:—

[R. Steele. *The Earliest English Music Printing*, p. 102.]

Songes of Sundrye Natures, whereof somme ar Divine, some are madrigalles, and the rest Psalmes and Hymnes in Latin composed for 5 and 6 voyces and one for 8 voyces, by Nathanaell Pattrick, sometyme Master of the Children of the Cathedral Church of Worcester and Organist of the same.

Licensed to Thomas Este. Oct. 22, 1597.

It will be seen that the above work was announced some time after Patrick's death. No copy is known to exist, nor is it certain that it was printed. If it was, it is probable that Thomas Tomkins, who became Organist in 1596 and who, as will appear later, married Patrick's widow, had some part in preparing it for publication.

The Treasurer's Accounts for 1594-5 shew that

JOHN FIDO (1595—1596)

was Patrick's successor. It is probable that he was a son of Thomas Fido who was a King's Scholar in 1553, and Registrar and Chapter Clerk in 1562.* Thomas Fido was Churchwarden of St. Michael's in 1573 and was buried in that parish 22 July 1577.

Previous to his appointment at Worcester John Fido had been Organist of Hereford Cathedral for rather more than a year (Dec. 1593 to Feb. 1595), as will be seen from the following documents:—

[Hereford Cathedral Chapter Act Book.] Dec. 24, 1593.

Item tunc et ibidem admiserunt Johannem Fydo, laicum, in musicis peritum, ad officium pulsationis organi. Qui in organistam in dicta ecclesia cathedralis cum omnibus feodis, juribus, et proficuis eidem officio spectantibus fuit admissus, prestito prius per eundem juramento de renuntiando etc.†

At Hereford, as afterwards at Worcester, he seems to have been a failure. Even in later life, after his Ordination, he seems never to have learnt how to behave himself; but in these early days the Custos and

* A. vii. 3 fol. 15.

† This and the other Hereford extracts were communicated by Canon A. T. Bannister.

Vicars, who were parties to his appointment, found him quite “unclubbable” and impossible to do with.

[Act Book of the Hereford College of Vicars.]

Feb. 22, 1594 (*i.e.*, 1595).

Item ye said day and place ye Custos and Vicars aforesaid and ye greater number of y^m. concluded and agreed not to allow Jo. Fidow not (*sic*) to be ye Organist, neither to pay him any wage, therefore neither to admitt him nor allow him to come to there house and Comons. This Act was made ag^t him for y^t he gave out most slanderous words ag^t ye s^d Custos and company.

He was not long idle. Returning to Worcester he became Master of the Choristers upon Patrick's death in March 1595. Here he remained until Oct. 1596 or a little later. In Jan. 1597 he was again appointed Organist of Hereford.

[Hereford Chapter Act Book.]

Septimo die mensis Januarii anno predicto [1596, really therefore 1597] Carolus Langford, decanus, . . . [several names] residentarii, in domo capitulari congregati, admiserunt Johannem Fydo, in musicis peritum, in Organistam seu pulsatorem Organi in ecclesia cathedrali, et ad stallum diaconalem in choro, per annum probationis, usque in primum diem mensis Octobris proximi, vel in proximum Capitulum tunc sequens, una cum feodis et vadiis eidem spectantibus, dummodo interim se bene gesserit.

His conduct, however, must have been unsatisfactory, for in October the Hereford Chapter made a fresh appointment.

He appears to have returned to Worcester, for his name occurs in 1611 as a Minor Canon. The 1611 Accounts are the earliest extant of those for the seventeenth century which give a list of the Minor Canons, so it is impossible to say when he took Holy Orders. He was Rector of St. Nicholas 1615—36. As well as being a Minor Canon, he appears to have acted as assistant to Thomas Tomkins the Organist, no doubt taking Tomkins's place during the latter's absence upon his Chapel Royal duties.

[*Acta Capituli* 1605—1645, p. 85.]

[May, 1625.] Mulctus fuit M^r John Fidoe, clericus, unus Minorum canonicorum hujus eccles. in Xs. et admonitus ab officio suo in choro et ab organis citra Fes^t Natalis Scti Johannis Bapti.

There always seemed high hope that he would mend his ways, but it does not appear that he ever did so; indeed, his appearances in the

Chapter Books are generally punctuated by Admonitions. Perhaps the last entry of this kind is one dated Nov. 25, 1633, when he was suspended. As he reappears as Minor Canon in 1639 he must evidently have been a person of some resilience. He died about 1640.

An anthem of Fido's, *Hear me, O Lord*, is to be found in the Peterhouse Collection, in Barnard's MS. Collection at the Royal College of Music and in the British Museum.

After so unsatisfactory a person as John Fido, it is pleasant to turn to one who, on the whole, was the greatest musician the Cathedral has had—

THOMAS TOMKINS (1596—1656).

[Treasurer's Accounts for 1596—1597.]

Et in Stipend.——Tomkins instructoris Choristarum cantand. infra
 eccl^{iam} cath^{edrae} predict. ad xj^{li} vj^s viij^d per ann. xj^{li} vj^s viij^d

Though no Christian name is given in the Accounts until 1600-1601 (those for 1598, 1599 and 1599-1600 are wanting), facts which I shall quote later make it certain that the name then given, viz., Thomas, was the name omitted by the Treasurer in the earlier Accounts.

This Worcester organist was one of the greatest of the composers of the first half of the seventeenth century, though at present the fact is probably known to very few. Tomkins was a prolific composer—his *Musica Deo Sacra* alone contains ninety-five anthems and five services—but his published works, sacred and secular, are very inaccessible, and for the most part have never been scored until recent years. Of the instrumental works which he left, those contained in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book have been published under the editorship of Mr. Fuller Maitland and Mr. Barclay Squire, but others in the British Museum, the Christ Church Library and elsewhere still await publication. A great number of his anthems, too, were not brought together in the *Musica Deo Sacra*, but lie scattered in various libraries up and down the country. His *Songs of 3, 4, 5 and 6 parts*, published in parts in 1622, is a work of great rarity. It was known to Vincent Novello, who scored 25 of the 28, but up to the present only two have been printed in score form (under the editorship of Mr. Barclay Squire). In the near future, however, Dr. E. H. Fellowes, Minor Canon of Windsor, hopes to issue the *Songs* as vol. xix of his *English Madrigal Series*. With the publication of the *Songs* and the still greater *Musica Deo Sacra** in

* This will probably be printed after the war under the Carnegie Trust Scheme for the publication of English Music of the pre- and post-Elizabethan periods.

score form one may safely prophesy that Thomas Tomkins will stand out as one of the greatest figures in English musical history of the seventeenth century.

When Mr. Davey wrote his admirable article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* very little was known of the facts of his life, but since those days a good deal has come to light. An early acquaintance with his fine setting of "I heard a voice from heaven" aroused my first interest in the composer, and from time to time I have been able to give spare moments to investigating the records of his life at Worcester and elsewhere.

The earliest account of Tomkins appears in Anthony à Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 1691,* from which the following is extracted:—

Thom. Tomkins of Magd. Coll.

This eminent and learned musitian was Son of *Thom. Tomkins* Chauntor of the Choir at *Glocester*, descended from those of his name at *Listwithyel* in *Cornwal*, educated under the famous Musitian *Will. Bird* and afterwards for his merits was made Gentleman of his Majesties Chappel Royal, and at length Organist of the Cath. Church at *Worcester* . . . hath Compositions in *the triumphs of Oriana* . . . he was living after the grand Rebellion broke out, but when he died I cannot justly tell you. . . ."

Every writer on English Musical history since Wood has made Tomkins's connection with Worcester begin a good deal later than it did, and it is only in quite recent years, since the early Chapter records have been made available for reference, that it has been possible to clear up much that was puzzling in the early part of Tomkins's career. In trying to fix the date of his birth we are helped by a memorial tablet to his son Nathaniel Tomkins, which recorded that the latter was 82 years old at his death, Oct. 21, 1681.† As Nathaniel must have been born about 1599, we shall not be far out in placing the year of Thomas Tomkins's birth at c. 1575.

In the preface to his *Songs* (1622) the Composer states that he was born in Pembrokeshire. It occurred to Dr. E. H. Fellowes to follow up this clue, and I am indebted to him for the following information which he obtained, by the courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of St. David's

* When Wood visited Worcester Cathedral about 1670, Nathaniel Tomkins acted as his guide; some of his facts may therefore have been obtained from the old Canon.

† *Nash*, ii., p. 165. The tablet was formerly in Martin Hussingtree church. Nathaniel Tomkins was Canon of Worcester 1629—1681.

Cathedral, from their records. An entry in the Chapter Act Book under the date July 12, 1571, shews that a Thomas Tomkins was one of the Vicars Choral of the Cathedral.

The following tell their own story:—

[Acts of Chapter, A.D. 1570—1600, St. David's Cathedral.

Trans. from the Latin by Archdeacon Payne.]

1577. April 23. "The said Commissioners (the Lord Bishop of St. Davids and the Archdeacon of Cardigan, Commissioners to my Lord of Canterbury) decreed and directed that if Thomas Tomkins (a chorister) did not appear before them on Monday next, here in the Chapter House, he should not be accepted, reputed and counted a Chorister or member of the Church, nor have any allowance of living allowed during his absence."

1577. April 29. "On Monday appeared Tomkins the Chorister before the said Delegates or Commissioners. The Subchanter installed the said Chorister in the stall which Richard Johnson lately enjoyed; and then forthwith in the Chapter there holden in the Chapter House, before the said Delegates, the oath of Supremacy was ministered to the said Tomkins, the younger; and thereupon there was an order and constitution agreed upon by the aforesaid Delegates, read by Albany Stepney their Registrar, ut sequitur—

"Whereas Thomas Tomkins, master of the Choristers and Organ Player in this Church, as well by his own report as by testimony of others, declareth that he hath not so great wages as others have had who occupied his place and office heretofore; and also credibly affirmeth that he is not able to live and continue a member of this Church upon such wages and commodity as he now enjoyeth, but must of necessity be obliged to leave this Church, and to accept such place, as with greater commodity, wages and living, is elsewhere offered unto him. It is therefore ordered, constituted and appointed by the Reverend Father in God Richard, Bishop of St. Davids and Mr. Lewis Gwyn, deputies unto the most Reverend Father in God Edmund (Grindale), by God's Providence Archbishop of Canterbury and Metropolitan of England, in His Grace's Visitation within the Diocese of St. Davids, executed by the foresaid Deputies or Delegates, that Thomas Tomkins the younger, Son unto the foresaid Thomas Tomkins the elder, now being one of the Choristers of this Church, shall from henceforth, to the end that his poor Father, at whose finding he is, may thereby the rather be relieved, have a Vicar's Stall in the said Cathedral Church of St. Davids which one Richard Johnson lately held, and is now void, and from the Feast of the Nativity of S. John the Baptist next coming, shall and may enjoy all profits and commodities belonging to the same stall and place of Vicar Choral, without defalcation, according to the custom of the Church. And it is further appointed, constituted and decreed by the foresaid Delegates or Deputies that there is now but one chorister in

this Church, besides the said Tomkins the younger (the Statute requiring six in all) two other children of years, voice and aptitudes, likely to do God's service, as appertaineth to a Chorister of the foresaid Church, shall be appointed by the Chanter and Chapter, so that at least there may be three of them continually kept and maintained."

1586. Jan. 22. Thomas Tomkins, junior, a Vicar Choral, having grossly misbehaved, is expelled, and his stall, having been declared vacant, is given to David Thomas.*

(Extracts copied by Canon Charles Gilbert Brown, Oct. 19, 1917.)

From a comparison of the above dates with the dates which I had already arrived at from the Worcester records, it will be seen that it was not easy to connect the Worcester Thomas Tomkins with either of those at St. Davids of the same name. The great stumbling block, of course, was Thomas Tomkins the younger. The Worcester musician died in 1656, and to have identified him with the St. David's chorister it would have been necessary to make him over 90 at his death.

About the time when the St. David's records were brought to light, I was lucky enough in reading Glazebrook's *Heraldry of Worcestershire* to make the discovery that a pedigree of the Tomkins family existed in the College of Heralds. The solution which it provided shewed once more that fact can be stranger than fiction. It seems that the Organist of St. David's had *two* sons who bore the name of Thomas. The elder of these was the chorister of 1577, whose very existence had at one time seemed so uncalled for. If the entry of this Thomas into the story was dramatic, his manner of leaving it was not less so. Last heard of in 1586, when as a Vicar Choral he was dismissed from St. David's Cathedral, in 1591, the pedigree tells us, "he died in the *Revenge* with Sir Richard Grenville."†

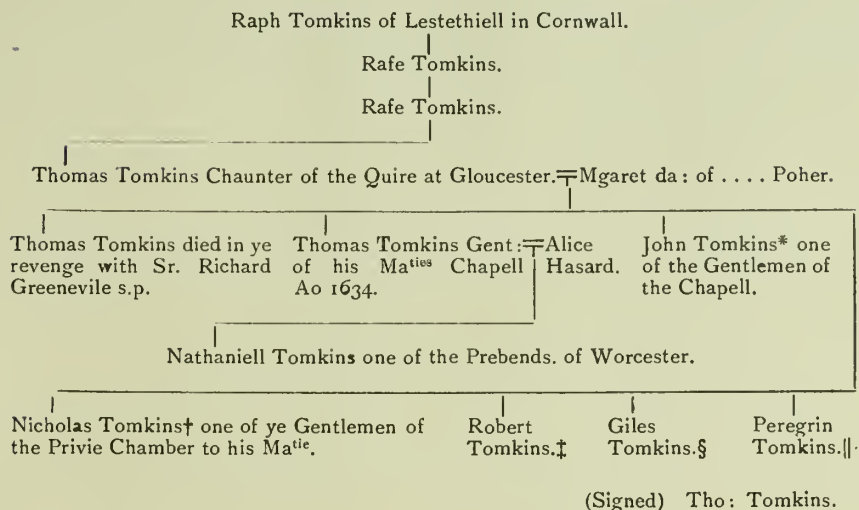
Apart from these lively details the pedigree is a valuable document on account of the new information it gives about an exceptionally interesting musical family. Even Wood, from whose account of the Tomkins family I have already quoted, confessed himself unable to range them—"their order according to seniority I cannot tell."

* Canon Brown writes that such expulsion was probably for insubordination and carried no reflection on his moral character.

† Sir Richard Grenville, however, did not actually die in the *Revenge*.

From the Records of the Heralds' College (MS. C. 30, f. 74).

[Visitation of the County of Worcester, 1634.]



For the following, later pedigree I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Felowes. It was the result of further search on his part in the College of Arms, after the 1634 pedigree had been obtained. The pedigree is of value in throwing further light upon the early history of the family. It will be seen that Thomas Tomkins senior was twice married.

* John Tomkins, born 1586, Mus. B. Cantab. 1605; Org. King's Coll., Camb., 1606—1619; Org. St. Paul's Cathedral 1619—1638; Gent^a of Chapel Royal 1626—1638; died 27 Sept. 1638, æt. 52. Works by him are found in Brit. Mus., S. Mich. Coll., Tenbury (Batten's Organ Bk.), and R.C.M. (Barnard, MS. Coll.).

† Nicholas Tomkins. Like the other members of the family he is said to have been musical (Wood).

‡ Robert Tomkins. Musician in the Royal Household of Charles I. 1633—1641 and probably later; appears to have died before the Restoration. Anthems by him are to be found in Batten's Org. Bk. and in the Brit. Museum.

§ Giles Tomkins. Org. King's Coll., Cam., 1624—1626; Musician for the Virginals in the Royal Household 1630—1668; Master of the Choristers of Salisbury 1629—1668; Org. of Salisbury Cath. 1631—1668; Organist with John Tomkins on Charles the First's journey into Scotland (Lafontaine, *King's Musick*); bur. 4 April 1668 (Salisbury Cath. Registers). Anthems by him are to be found in the Brit. Museum.

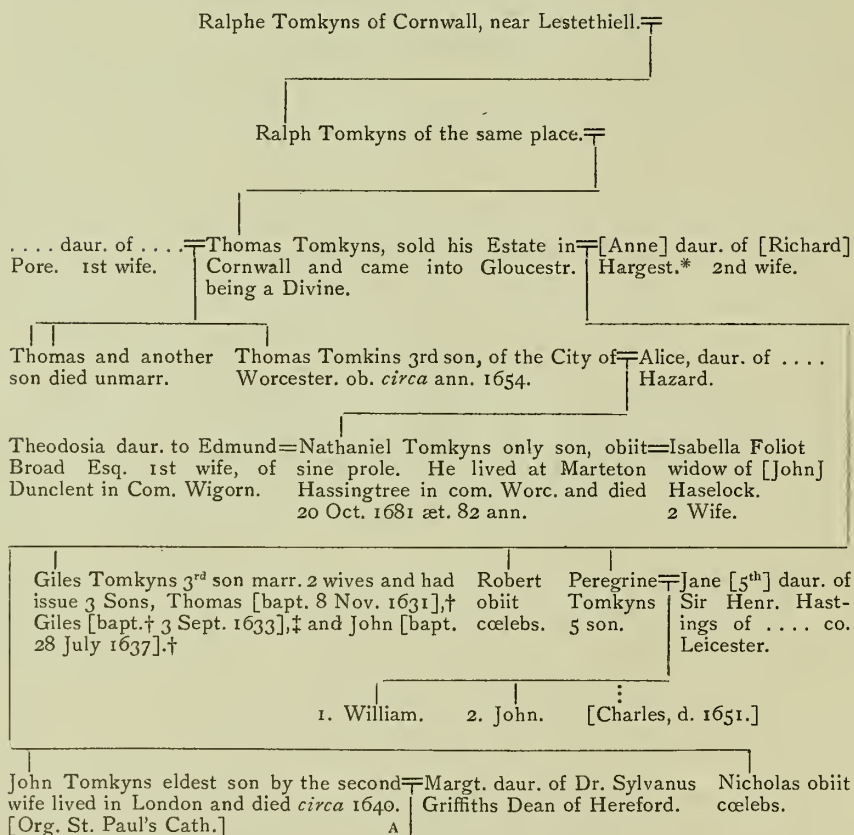
|| Peregrin Tomkins "of London and Dronfield, co. Derby." Compounded for delinquency July 1643; described as "a servant of the King," who was in arms against Parliament. (*Calendar of Committee for Compounding*, Part ii, p. 1378.)

"Visitation of Hereford and Monmouth." By Henry Dethick, Richmond Herald, and Gregory King, Rouge Croix, 1683. (Coll. of Arms, MS. K. 6, fo. 147.)

Broxash Hundred. Branyard, 20 Sept. 1683.

ARMS.—*Azure, a chevron between three socks or, combed gules, beaked sable.*

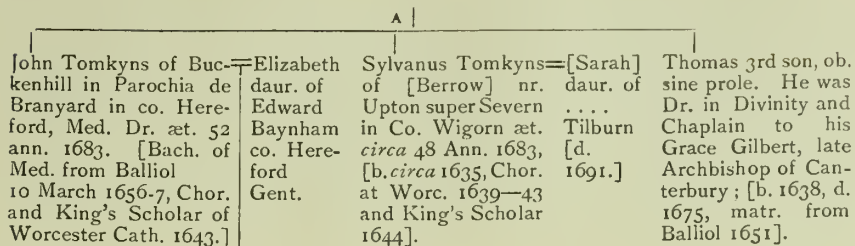
Dr. Tomkyns voucheth these to be his Armes referring himself to the Books of Cornwall, but nothing is to be found of them in that County, nor is it likely there should, these Armes being granted to Richard Tomkyns of Mornington in Com. Hereford (orde C 25, fo. 37) to whom these Tomkyns do not seem to be allied. Besides this family is entered without Armes in the last "Visitation of Worcestershire, 1634" (C. 30, fo. 74).



* Probably dau. or sister of Richard Hargest of Penarthur farm near St. David's, a man of some wealth, whose will was proved in 1619 at Carmarthen. The family of Hargest, or Hergest as it is generally spelt, came from Hergest in Radnorshire. (Communicated by Mr. Francis Green of St. David's.)

† Salisbury Registers.

‡ Died 1725. Rector of Martin Hussingtree 1672—1725.



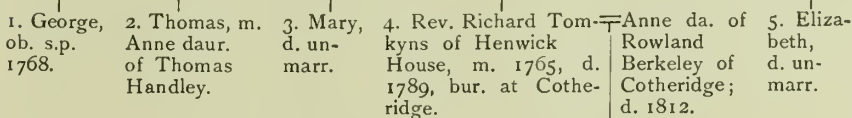
Thomas Tomkyns son and heir apparent, æt. 17 ann. 1683; [bapt. at Martin Hussingtree 14 Ap. 1667].

= Margaret daur. of Anthony Eyre of Rampton in com. Nott.

(Signed) John Tomkyns.

[Packington Tomkyns, matric. from Balliol Oct. 1703, aged 17, Student Middle Temple. Brother-in-law of Rowland Green Berkeley. Portrait at Cotheridge.]

= Elizabeth Bohun daur. of George Bohun of New House, Warwickshire.



Rev. Richard Tomkyns, assumed the name of Berkeley, Fellow of New Coll.; succeeded at Cotheridge on the death of his uncle Henry Berkeley; d. 1840, æt. 71.

= Louisa daur. of Rev. James Preedy.]

[The dates and facts within brackets, and the portion indicated by dotted lines and a closing bracket, have been added by the writer.]

Putting together all the information derived from these various sources, we arrive at the fact that Thomas Tomkins, Organist of Worcester Cathedral, was the third son of Thomas Tomkins senior,* Organist and Vicar Choral of St. David's and afterwards Precentor of Gloucester, and that he was born at St. David's about 1575.

* Thomas Tomkins, Senr., was probably born about 1545. Two wills at Gloucester quoted below confirm the evidence of the 1683 Pedigree that he was twice married, and that all the sons after the second Thomas were the children of the second marriage. They show also that he had three daughters, Margaret, Elizabeth and Bridget. The first record of his being resident in St. David's is in 1571. He must have left St. David's before 1596, for I learn from Archdeacon Hobhouse, Librarian of Gloucester Cathedral, that in Fosbrooke's *History of Gloucester*, p. 344, he is said to have been Vicar of St. Mary de Lode, Gloucester (an old church near the Cathedral, in the patronage of the Dean and Chapter), from 1596 to 1627, and is there described as "Minor Canon." It is not known when he took Holy Orders. The earliest reference to him in the Gloucester Chapter Accounts is in 1610, when his name appears as Precentor, an office to which he was annually elected until 30 Oct. 1625, when Richard Marwood was elected. It will be seen that in his will he is wrongly described as Chanter in 1627.

[Continued on next page.]

From St. David's I think it is possible that the Worcester musician went to the Chapel Royal as Chorister. We know that he afterwards studied with William Byrd. In 1607, when he took the degree of Mus.Bac. from Magdalen College, Oxford, he is described as having been "14 years student in Music," so that he may have studied with Byrd from 1593 to 1596, in which year he came to Worcester. From the pedigree we learn that he married Alice Hazard. The marriage took place in 1597 or 1598. As we have seen, the Hazards (Hasard or Hassard, the name is variously spelt) were a Huguenot family and, so far as I know, the only time that the name occurs so early in Worcester records is in the Registers of St. Michael's, in the entry which I have already quoted:—

1593. Nathaniell Patrick and Alse Hassard were married the xxiii day of Sep.

[Footnote on Thomas Tomkins, Senr.—continued from p. 43.]

Will of Thomas Tomkins, Senr.

(Consistory Court Records, Diocese of Gloucester.)

Memorandum that in the moneth of Marche 1626 according to the computac'on of the Church of England Thomas Tomkins one of the petie canons of the Cathedrall church of Glouc. and chaunter of the same being sick and weake in bodie but of perfect memorie being asked how he would dispose of his estate and goodes said divers and sundrie times all that I have I give unto Anne Tomkins my wife to dispose thereof as she sees good and her I make my executrix.

Witnesses present: Richard Broadgate, one peti-cannon of the Cathedrall Church of Glouc., Elizabeth Chap . . . [this name is uncertain as it runs into a blot].

The will was proved at Gloucester 19 April 1627.

Thomas Tomkins senior wrote an Account of the Bishops of Gloucester, which was used by Brown Willis in his *Survey* and was then in MS. It is not to be found at Gloucester, and though it was thought that the MS. might be found in the Bodleian Library or at Lambeth, it is not to be traced in either library.

His wife did not long survive him. Her will, dated 29 Nov. 1627, was proved Dec. 14, 1627. The following is an abstract:—

[Consistory Court Records. Diocese of Gloucester.]

I, Anne Tomkins of the City of Gloucester Widow (bequeath) To my son John Tomkins, unto my son Robert,* to my son Nicholas,* to my son Giles, to my son Peregrine, unto my daughter Margarete, and unto my daughter Elizabeth Smith mine own natural children a piece of gold of 11^s a piece to make each of them a ring for a motherly remembrance. Also I give unto my late husband's son Thomas Tomkins and unto his daughter Ursula 10^s each. The residue of my goods I give unto my daughter Bridget Tomkins whom I make my sole Executrix.

* The order given here differs from that in the 1634 and 1683 pedigrees. Anne Tomkins's will probably corrects both upon this point.

There can be no doubt then that the Alice Hazard whom Tomkins married was the widow of Nathaniel Patrick. The fact that the maiden name is given in both pedigrees presents no difficulty. The York Herald, to whom I submitted the point, writes: "There is no improbability, in my opinion, in Thomas Tomkins giving the maiden name of his wife, instead of her first husband's name, in his pedigree." The 1634 pedigree proves then, to be in more ways than one a romantic document.

In 1599 his only son Nathaniel was born, who, it is possible, was named after Patrick. Anne Tomkins's will shows that the Worcester Organist had also a daughter, Ursula, but it is not known when she was born. We next hear of the composer in the year 1601, when his madrigal "The Fauns and Satyrs tripping" was published by Thomas Morley in the *Triumphs of Oriana*.* In 1607 he took the degree of Mus.B. at Oxford, and is then described as having been a student in music for fourteen years:—

[Registers Univ. of Oxford, vol. ii, Part I, p. 147. Oxf. Hist. Soc.]

Thomas Tomkins, Magd. C. 14 years student in Music; Suppl. B.M. 6 June, admitt. 11 July 1607.

The Treasurer's Accounts for 1611 shew that Nathaniel was a Chorister in that year and Bible Clerk at the 1610 Audit:—

[A. xxvi 1611.] *Solutiones extraordinariæ.*

To Mr. Tomkyns sonne, Bible Clerk of ye last Audit, 1 ^o Decemb. 1610	iijs 4 ^d
To John Tomkyns† a chorist ^r of ye Kings Chappell for singing in ye quyre at divers times w th consent of the prebendaries	v ^s
Given to Mr. Tooke a base that sang in the quyre all the Christmas at the request of the quyre w th consent of M ^r Sub-Dean	13 ^s 4 ^d

To the year 1612 must be ascribed a MS. anthem in Christ Church Library, Oxford, *Know you not*, bearing the inscription: "Prince Henry his Funerall anthem." Prince Henry, eldest son of James I., died in 1612. Possibly Tomkins's connection with the Chapel Royal had already begun.

* This madrigal has been incorrectly attributed by modern writers to Thomas Tomkins, Senr.

† Probably a son of John Tomkins, Organist of Worc. Cath. in 1590. Afterwards Rector of Salwarpe.

In 1613-14 the new organ by Thomas Dallam was built.* By this time Tomkins had established a strong position in the life of the Cathedral, for he seems to have been largely instrumental in having had the organ built. It stood on the screen and must have presented a fine appearance with all the arms of the "benefactors" blazoned about the case.

Habington's *Survey of Worcestershire* (Vol. II., p. 462 Worc. Hist. Soc.) gives an interesting glimpse of it as it appeared about 1639 at the time of his Survey of the Cathedral.†

At the west end and highest ascent into the Quire is mounted alofte a most faire and excellent Organ adorned with imperiall crownes, red roses, includinge the white flowredeluses, pomgranades, being all Royall badges. Towardes the topp are towe stars, with the one, W. Parry, Episcopus; with the other, A. Lake, Decanus; and written aboute the Organ, By the meditation and mediation of Thomas Tomkins, Organist heere vnto the Righte reverend Bishop and venerable Deane, who gaue theise munificent giiftes and invited their fryndes by the industry of the said Thomas Tomkins.

Then follow details of the arms upon the organ. On p. 463 is a further list:—

"Armes of the Benefactors to the late erected Organe of the
Cathedrall Church of Worcester.

On the front of the Quyre and seate of the organe are as follow, and first the inscription. Thease honorable and worshipful gentellmen whose armes are heere placed, weare contributors towardes thease organes, An. Dom. 1614."

Then follows a description of the arms‡ occupying rather more than four pages. Both organ and case must have been remarkable.

In Myriell's *Tristitie Remedium*, 1616 (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., No. 29,372—7), are to be found compositions by Thomas Tomkins, together with others by John Tomkins. Amongst those by Thomas are four six-part anthems, *From deepest horror of sad penitence; It is my well-beloved's voice; Thou art my King; O God, wonderfull art*

* D. 248 gives the specification of "the new double organs" and a list of the "benefactors" with the amount contributed by each. The paper was printed by Green. (History of Worcester 1796, ii., Appx., p. xv.)

† Habington owed his access to much information about the Cathedral to Nathaniel Tomkins.

‡ In Hopkins's *Survey of the Cathedral*, 1737, p. 23, many of the arms are identified. See also Green, i., p. 114.

Thou in Thy holy places; and one for five voices, *When David heard that Absalom was slain*. Possibly the last was written for his degree in 1607. In 1617 Tomkins became co-lessee with Foulke Broughton (one of the Bailiffs of the city in 1617 and 1618) of a house in St. Michael's parish.

[Cathedral Records, A. vii. 9, fol. 48.]

26 Nov. 1617. Lease dated 26th Nov. James 5th, between Dr. Joseph Hall Dean of the Cathedral of the one part and Foulke Broughton of the city of Worcester gent. and Thomas Tomkins dwelling within the precincts of the said church, gent. of the other, of a tenement and garden scituate, lying and being within the parish of St. Michael Bedwardine for 40 years at 10^s a year.

An entry in the Accounts for 1619 suggests that the voices of the Choristers must then have been in a weak state, and that it was necessary to strengthen the soprano part by the use of cornets.

1619. [A. xxvi. Treasurer's Accounts.]

Pay^d to Goodmā Stanton the Musitian for playing on the cornetts in
the Quayre

xx^s

In 1620 Tomkins must have already been a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, for his name appears with others as a witness when Thomas Peirs was sworn Gentleman (29 June 1620)—a fact which has hitherto escaped attention. In the following year (August 2, 1621) he was sworn in as one of the Organists of the Chapel in place of Edmund Hooper (died July 14). Orlando Gibbons, who was co-organist with him until 1623, was then senior Organist, and William Byrd, to whom a little later Tomkins dedicated one of his *Songs* (a particularly secular one) with the inscription *To my ancient & much reuerenced Master*, was till one of the Gentlemen, only dying in 1623. During the time when he was in attendance at the Chapel Royal, Tomkins's place at Worcester appears to have been filled by John Fido, one of the Minor Canons and a former Organist of the Cathedral.* Arrangements were made whereby those of the Choir who were also gentlemen of the Chapel Royal were exempted from the usual fines for absence. In those days the journey to London appears to have occupied about a week.

* See *ante*, p. 36.

Even after the Restoration this arrangement held good. In 1673 we read :—

[A, 76, p. 82.]

Such of the Choir as are related to his Ma^{ties} Chappel shall be freed from the say^d mulct [for absence] during the time of their service there, and for two weeks more in respect of their journeys.

In 1621, too, Tomkins was a contributor to Ravenscroft's *Psalms* with the settings of two tunes, "Dunfermline" and "Worcester." The latter, a fine tune, is probably his own.

These settings, and others of the tunes "York," "St. David," "Martyrs" and "Windsor," which are to be found in his *Musica Deo Sacra*, were no doubt written for the services which were held on Sunday afternoons in the West End of the Cathedral, at which it was part of Tomkins's duty to play.*

The main features of the service were the Sermon by the Lecturer and the singing of the metrical psalms by the choir† and congregation. For their accompaniment a special organ was used, which stood on the South side of the Nave under the third arch from the West. The "Sermons," as they were called, attracted enormous numbers—it was said that no greater congregation was to be seen except at St. Paul's‡—and what the musical effect of the services must have been can be seen from the following description of similar services held at York in 1644. It is taken from Thomas Mace's quaint *Music's Monument* (1676). Mace was one of the Clerks at King's College, Cambridge, and a considerable musician.

Writing of the Psalm-singing he says:—

(It) "was the very best *Harmonical* Musick that ever I heard; yea far excelling all other either private or publick Cathedral Musick, and infinitely beyond all verbal expreffion or conceiving. . . . Abundance of people of the best rank and quality being shut up in the city, *viz.*, Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of the countries round about, besides the souldiers and citizens, who all or most of them came constantly every Sunday to hear public prayers and fermon, the number of them was so exceeding great that the church was (as I may say) even *cramming* and *squeezing-full*."

* See entry from Treasurer's Accounts for 1643, quoted on p. 54.

† A. xxvi. Accounts for 1642, p. 26. To John Lyes for enlarging ye quires seat at the sermon place, 9^s.

‡ Dr. Wm. Smyth to Archbishop Laud, Nov. 18, 1639. *Calendar of State Papers*,

Now here you must take notice, that they had then a *custom in that church*, (which I hear not of in any other *cathedral*, which was), that always before the *sermon*, the *whole congregation sang a Psalm*, together with the *quire and the organ*; and you must also know, that there was then a most *excellent-large-plump-lusty-full-speaking-organ*, which cost (as I am credibly informed) a *thousand pounds*.

This *Organ*, I say, (when the *Psalm* was set before the *sermon*), being let out, into all its *fulnefs of stops*, together with the *quire*, began the *Psalm*.

But when that *vast-conchording-unity* of the whole *congregational-chorus* came (as I may say) *thundering in*, even so as it made the very ground *shake* under us; (*Oh the unutterable ravishing soul's delight!*); in the which I was so *transported and wrapt up into high contemplation*, that there was no room and left in my *whole man*, viz., *body and spirit*, for any thing below *divine and heavenly raptures*."

The Worcester "Sermons" ceased to be held at the west end of the Cathedral shortly after Archbishop Laud's Visitation, 1635. They were afterwards held in the great cross aisle when the great organ was used to accompany the Psalms.* In 1637 the Bishop caused the "Sermons" to cease owing to the plague,† but early in 1642 a new pulpit was built "in the body of the church," when again the screen organ was used, the little organ being removed to the Lady Chapel.‡

In 1622 appeared Thomas Tomkins's *Songs of 3, 4, 5 and 6 parts*.§ The following dedicatory poem by his brother John Tomkins, then Organist of St. Paul's, who was born about 1586 and so was about eleven years his junior, shews, even after some allowance has been made for the relationship, how highly Thomas's work must already have been esteemed:—

To my Brother the AVTHOR.

YET thou wert mortall: now begin to *live*
And end with onely *Time*. Thy Muses giue
What Nature hath deny'd, *Eternitie*:

* [A. xxvi. Treasurer's Accounts for 1642.]

p. 26. For mending a pillar in y^e body of y^e church against w^{ch} the
newe pulpitt stands 10 0
p. 27. For building my Lo. B^{ps} seat in the body of y^e church 2^{li} 7^s 2^d.

† *History of the Troubles and Tryal of Archbishop Laud*, 1695, p. 552.

‡ [A. xxvi. Treasurer's Accounts for 1642.]

p. 22. Jan. 25. For removinge the old organ fro' y^e west end of
y^e church into our Lady Chappell 15^s 9^d.

§ *Songs of 3, 4, 5 and 6 parts*, by Thomas Tomkins: Organist of His Maiesties Chappell Royall in Ordinary. London: Printed for Matthew Lownes, John Browne and Thomas Snodham. 4to. in separate parts (Cantus, Altus, Tenor, Bassus, Quintus, Sextus). Of two editions known, one is without a date, the other is dated 1622. Dedicated to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, it contains 28 anthems and madrigals.

Gladly my younger Muse doth honour thee,
 But mine's no praise. A large increase it has
 That's multiply'd through strong affections glas.
 Yet is thy worth the same, and were no other
 Though as a *Judge* I spake, not as a *Brother*.
 This comfort haue, this *Art's* so great, so free,
 None but the *good* can reach to *censure* thee.

JOHN TOMKINS.*

With very few exceptions, the "songs" were dedicated to well-known musicians of the day; only two were dedicated to Worcester men.

In 1625 he was the Organist at the funeral of King James I., and in the same year received 40s. "for composing of many songes against the Coronation of King Charles I.," and it is noticeable that a sum equal to three-quarters of this amount was paid to the copyist!

The anthems used on that occasion were:

1. I was glad when they said;
2. Strengthen'd be thy hand and exalted be thy right hand
3. Come Holy Ghost, eternall God, proceeding from above
4. Sadock the Priest;
5. The King shall rejoice in thy strength;
6. Behold, O God, our Defender;
7. Lett my prayer be set forth in thy presence;
8. O hearken thou unto the voice.

(*Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal.*)

If these were the "songes" set by Tomkins, only two appear to have survived, viz., Nos. 4 and 5. (Harl. MS. 6346.)

* John Tomkins was buried in the North aisle of Old St. Paul's and the inscription over his grave shows what a fine musician he must have been:—

Johannes Tomkins, Musicæ
 Baccalaureus, organista sui
 temporis celeberrimus, postquam
 Capellæ regali, per annos
 duodecim, hinc autem Ecclesiæ
 per novem decem sedulo inser-
 -viisset, ad cœlestem chorum
 Migravit Septembris 2), anno
 Domini 1638. Ætatis suæ 52.
 Cujus desiderium mœrens uxor
 hoc testator marmore.

In 1627 two leases were granted to him by the Dean and Chapter. Both are dated Nov. 25th.*

The first is a lease for twenty-one years of Prebendary Charlet's portion of the Demesne Meadows, viz., about 11 acres of land in St. Clement's parish called Kitchenor's Leasow or pasture.

The second is a lease between the Dean and Chapter and Thomas Tomkins of the Precincts of the Cathedral Church, gent., and Alice his wife, of certain "old houses or ruinated buildings" within the precincts of the Cathedral, consisting of four bays and a half of buildings whose position and dimensions are described in the same terms as those in the Parliamentary Survey of 1649, quoted later on p. 54. The lease was for forty years.

It was clearly Tomkins's intention to rebuild these houses or to replace them by new buildings, for a clause in the lease directs that if he is dispossessed, without any fault on his part, the Dean and Chapter shall repay him "the value of all timber, boardes, bricke, tyles, iron, leade, tinne, sande, clay and other building stuffe whatsoever, bestowed or to be bestowed in repaçon or new building of the said houses or buildings, also all charges of workmanship."

About April, 1627, his father died at Gloucester. A year later, March 15, 1628, Tomkins was granted the place of Composer of Music in Ordinary to His Majesty for life, with the fee of £40 per annum from the death of Alphonso Ferrabosco. Charles I. afterwards revoked the grant on the ground that the place had been promised for Ferrabosco's son.†

On May 15, 1629, his son Nathaniel, who had been admitted B. D. from Balliol in March of the same year, became Canon of Worcester. At this time music was well represented on the Worcester Chapter, for Dr. Nathaniel Gyles, the son of a former organist of the Cathedral, had become Canon in 1626. Nathaniel Tomkins very soon became a great power in Worcester. A strong Royalist and a High Churchman he was an ardent worker in carrying out Archbishop Laud's scheme of ecclesiastical reforms so far as they affected Worcester. In all the records of the time Nathaniel appears as a fiery, energetic and possibly high-souled churchman who, while doing much to raise the tone of the Cathedral worship, did much, too, to alienate the townsfolk who had hitherto thronged the Cathedral. He is said to have been an excellent

* A. vii., 10, fols. 123 and 133.

† Hist. MSS. Comm. 12th Report, i., 341.

organist, to have been all his life among organs and to have always maintained an organ in his house.*

Thomas is next heard of in 1634 when, as we have seen, he recorded his pedigree at the Visitation of the Heralds. In Butler's *Principles of Music* (1636, p. 5), there is a very interesting reference to Tomkins's beautiful anthem *When David heard that Absalon was slain*, which the writer had heard sung in the Oxford Music School "with consonant instruments." Writing of the Lydian Mode he says:—

"Of this mood is that passionate lamentation of the musical King for the death of his son *Absalom*, composed in five parts by Mr. Thomas Tomkins, now organist of his majesty's chapel. The melodious harmony of which, when I heard it in the Music-School (Oxon), whether I should more admire the sweet well-governed voices, with consonant instruments, of the singers, or the exquisite invention, wit, and art of the composer, it was hard to determine.†

In John Toy's *Worcester Elegy and Eulogy*, 1638, occurs the following punning poem:—

To Master Thomas Tomkins, Bachelor of Musicke.

And thou, great Master of melodious skill,
This holy harmony didst helpe to fill;
When in this dismall Cadence, no sound else
Was heard but Mournfull groanes,‡ and mortall bells.
Thy hand an Organ was of ample good
To set in tune, and cheere our mourning mood.
According to thy Tenor, thou didst lend
Us Meanes, our low, and base state to mend.
T'accomplish now this song of courtesie,
In triple time our thanks shall trebbles be.
These lines are Briefe, but know, thy Restlesse song
Of fame, shall stand in notes both large and long.

In 1639 the Cathedral authorities took advantage of Tomkins's journeys to London and we find the following item in the Treasurer's accounts for that year.

* Bishop Skinner's letter to Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, Aug. 5, 1665 (Bodleian MS., Tanner, 45, fol. 19). According to the *Diocesan History of Worcester* (Smith and Onslow), footnote, p. 262, it was said of Nathaniel Tomkins that he could play better on the organ than on a text. His patron was Bishop Williams of Lincoln.

† On p. 92 of the same volume he writes of Thomas and John Tomkins as *aureum par musicorum*.

‡ A reference to the Plague in Worcester 1637.

A. xxvi, p. 69. "Paid for carriage of the old plate to London and bringing downe the new, according to Mr. Tho. Tomkins' bill, 19s. 7d."

Another entry relates to the usual Morning Prayers at 6 a.m., which Laud in 1634 ordered to be held in the Lady Chapel* :—

[A. xxvi, p. 66, Treasurer's Accounts.]

Soluciones Extraordinariæ.

1639. Organistæ, p. servitio in capella B. Virginis, liiis iiij ^d	{	Term 1 ^o Decemb. 20.	13	4
		Term 2 ^o April 10.	13	4
		Term 3 ^o Junij 26.	13	4
		Term 4 ^o Oct. 21.	13	4

In 1639-40 the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester called Tomkins into consultation about a new organ and in the following year he made a journey there to approve it.

In January, 1641-2, Thomas Tomkins's wife died† and her funeral sermon, published in quarto in the same year, was preached by the Revd. John Toy, Schoolmaster and Minor Canon. She was buried in the Cathedral and the gravestone‡ which was formerly in the Lady Chapel, was marked by the following inscription :—

Alicia, or
Ales the wife of Thomas Tomkins,
One of the Gentlemen of His Majesties
Chappell Royall, a woman full
of faith and good works. She
dyed the 29 January, 1641.

The following extracts are from the Treasurer's Accounts for 1642 and 1643 :—

	li.	s.	d.
1642. [A. xxvi, p. 23.] For mending the great organ bellowes, for candles, glew, leather, whipcord, etc.		0	9 5
„ For a faire large base-book, conteigning at least 5 quire of pap, full prickt		1	16 8
p. 29. For necessarie repaçoēs of Mr. Organists house		0	18 9
p. 33. For gowne clothe for ye 10 choristers		10	0 0

* *Laud's Works*, v. 491 (quoted in Walcott's *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals*, p. 182).

† As in many other cases of persons buried in the Cathedral, the burial was recorded in the St. Mich. Registers :—

Alles, the wife of Mr. Thomas Tomkins, Organist, was buried the 2nd of February 1641 (1642).

‡ The stone was removed to the crypt in the 19th century at the time of the Restoration. Broken portions can still be seen in the flooring.

1643. [A. xxviii.] *Soluc'ones extraordinariæ.*

			li.	s.	d.
Organistæ <i>formerly allowed*</i> for his paines in playing					
<i>to*</i> the psalmes at Sermons & morning prayer. [four					
quarters at 13 ^s 4 ^d]				2	13 4
		li			
Mr. Browne } 4 ^{li} p. { Term ^o 1 ^o ending June 3	1	0	0		
for instructing } annũ { October 7 ^o p. Mich. qter	1	0	0		
the Choristers }					
					This paid by
					y ^e Treasur ^r
					But would not
See ye Tit extraord: in y ^e Treas ^{rs}					be allowd nor
book of 1644 where 40 ^s more p ^d					is it in the Tot of
to Mr. Browne was not allowd.					this page w ^{ch} then
					had been ^{li} 37 6 8

[The total for the page is given as £35 6 8.]

Extraordinariæ Expense.

			s.	d.
For Keeping y ^e Quires seat	Christm ^s qter		1	0

Rep'ationes Domorum.

9ber 13. To the Mason for tyles, lyme & worke done in	} li. s. d.
repaçon of Mr. Organists house, ruined by a	
canon shott when Waller attempted the taking	
of the city, May 29, 1643	

Whether the house referred to in the last entry was Tomkins's new house on the south side of the College Green or the old Singing School (*vide* p. 56) near to the Edgar Tower does not appear.

The Parliamentary Survey of 1649 (lodged in the Edgar Tower), shows that in 1640 Tomkins was granted a lease of the houses which he had had built on the south side of the College Green. (See under 1627). The deed of 1640 was a renewal of the lease granted in 1627.

[Parliamentary Survey, 1649, p. 265.]

Thomas Tomkins by Indenture of Lease bearing date the 17th day of November in the 16th yeare of the late King Charles from Christofer Potter late deane of the Cath. Ch. of Chr: and Mary the Virgine of Wor. and the Chapter of the same church Holdeth to him and his assignees All those 2 messuages and tenements newly built lying and being within the precincts of the said Cath. Church consisting of about 4 bayes and half of building together with the soyle and ground thereunto adjoyning and a little stable scytuate betweene the Songschool and the late stable of Doctor Thornton and Doctor Wight cont. in length north and south 9 foote and 6 inches and in breadth

* The words in italics are in a different handwriting and interlined.

east and west 8 ft. and 7 inches. All which said 2 houses newly built and all the ground and soyle whereupon the old houses and buildings did stand cont. in length westward from the wall of the old Brewehouse in the occupation of Thomas Chiles 27 yards or thereabouts from the East end thereof unto a room or baye p cell of the same building now in the tenure of Ric. Hall gent. scytuate and being eastward and westward between the said Brewehouse and the house of the said Richard Hall and having on the South part thereof the Castle of Worcester and on the North the common ground of the said church To have and to hold all the said premisses from the ensealing of the Lease for and during the term of 40 years next ensuing at the yearly rent of 5s. payable the 24th of June only. One of which messuages aforesaid being now in the Tenure and possession of the said Thomas Tomkins cont. in breadth 18 foote and in length 34 foot.

And the same consisteth of a Haule a Kitchin a Buttery five chambers above staires and a garrett over them the staire case leading to a High Turret or Studdy. Also a garden in breadth 34 foote and in length 42 foote with a pompe of water therein likewise a Woodhouse a Coalehouse.

All which said messuage in possession of him the said Thomas Tomkins before rented is worth p. ann. above the said Rent of 5s., £05 00s. 00d. The other messuage or Tenement is now in the tenure of Thomas Chiles and was built by him the sd. Thomas Chiles upon the soyle and ground before mentioned and we are credibly informed that the said Tomkins was trusted by the said Thomas Chiles to purchase the same for him, the said Thos. Chiles, but contrary to that trust the said Mr. Tomkins did take it in his own name after such time as the said Thos. Chiles had built thereon, to his great cost and charges; and therefore humbly craves he may be admitted to purchase the inheritance thereof.*

The scite of which last recited messuage or Tenement cont. in breadth 18 foote and in length 33 foot having the castle on the South a Gatehouse there on the north Mr. Tomkins on the west and the Brewehouse of the sd. Thomas Chiles on the east. And the same house of Thomas Chiles aforesaid consisteth of a kitchen a parlour and 3 chambers with a garrett over them which said Tenement is worth by the yeare to be lett £03 00 00.

The house held by Chiles has since been pulled down, but the other, in which Thomas Tomkins was living in 1649 is still standing. Its old name was the "High House."† In 1666 it was leased to John Tomkins [of Buckenhill], and in 1707 to Colonel Nanfan, by whom it was rebuilt, but the alterations were slight and Tomkins's portion remains much as it was. It is the house (now occupied by Mrs. Walter Browne), which lies to the east of that of the 2nd Prebend.

* See, however, 1627 lease (p. 51).

† Chancellor Lloyd's Account of Copyhold Estates, A. 84, p. 357.

The same Survey contains a description of the old Singing School, a house in which Tomkins at one time lived. Though rebuilt and added to about the beginning of the eighteenth century, much of the old building still stands and can be identified in the house lying to the south-west of the Edgar Tower, the house in which Dr. Done lived for many years and which is now occupied by his daughters.

[*Ibid.*, p. 266.] THE SINGING SCHOOL.

An old house called the Singing Schoole late Thomas Tomkins organist in the possession of Widd. Hill scytuat and being within the precincts of the colledge adjoyning to the garden late Nathaniel Tomkins and now Daniel Dobbys on the East and the Colledge Greene on the West consisting of a Hawle, a parlour, a celler, a chamber belowe and 2 chambers over with a little buttery worth p. ann. to be let £1 10^s 0^d.

The house opposite the Singing School, that of the tenth Prebend, had been held by Nathaniel Tomkins. In 1649, after the ejection of the Canons from their houses, it was occupied by Daniel Dobbins.

Tomkins was now about 70 and the last years of his life must have been full of sadness for the old musician, but he kept up composition to the end of his life. A composition for the Virginal entitled a *Perpetual Round*, a piece of great virtuosity, is dated 1654. From about 1640 the services had been conducted with increasing difficulty and on July 20th, 1646, the year of the 2nd siege of Worcester, the organs were taken down.* On July 23rd, Townshend records: This day at 6 of the Clock prayers many Gentlemen went to take their last farewell and meeting at the Colledge at the Common prayers of the Church."†

The last glimpse we get at Tomkins is from the *State Papers (Committee for Compounding, 1643—1660, Part iii, 2132)*, where he is described as "Thomas Tomkins, late King's Chaplain." (This is the old title for the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal.) In July, 1650, a protest from him is recorded "complaining that demesne lands and tithes in Dodderhill are sequestrated as the estate of his son Nathaniel who has no interest therein." The matter appears to have been satisfactorily settled by September.

The closing years of his life were probably passed at Martin Husingtree, where in January, 1654, his son Nathaniel had married Mrs. Isabel Hall, a daughter of Guthlake Folliot, the Chapter Clerk, and widow of Mr. Guy Hall. She was three times married and by her first marriage to John Haselock had inherited the Manor of Merton and the

* Townshend's *Diary*, p. 191. In 1642 much damage had been done to the organs by the Earl of Essex's troops.

† *Ibid.*, p. 192.

patronage of Martin Hussingtree church. So it is probable that in his last days Tomkins went to live with them at the Manor House (a house which lies within a stone's throw of the church, and is still standing), and that it was from this house that he was carried to his last resting-place in Martin Hussingtree Church in June 1656. The entry in the Martin Registers is as follows :—

"Mr. Thomas Tomkins organist of ye King's Chappell and of the Cathedrall church of Worcester was buried ye IXth day of June 1656."

Very little is known of the personality of the Composer, but in a Chapter document of 1641* he is said to have been very charitable to the Worcester poor.

The patronage of the church passed to Nathaniel Tomkins after his wife's death in 1662, and for many years the church became associated with the family. Here in 1675 were brought from Exeter the remains of Dr. Thomas Tomkins, the brilliant All Souls' Fellow, who had been educated†—probably at Worcester—by his cousin Nathaniel, and afterwards became Chancellor of Exeter and Chaplain to Gilbert, Archbishop of Canterbury. To Dr. Tomkins's lot it had fallen, as Censor, to read Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and the memory of the part he then took has been wittily and refreshingly revived by Mr. Augustine Birrell in a recent number of *The Nation*.‡ Here, too, in 1681 Canon Nathaniel Tomkins was laid to rest. Here, too, lived Giles Tomkins, his nephew, Rector of the parish for nearly 53 years, who died in 1725 in his 93rd year.

It remains to give particulars of some of his compositions. A tentative list of his works will be found in Appendix II.

His *Musica Deo Sacra*, a Collection of Church Music which has recently been scored and transcribed by the Rev. A. Ramsbotham, a task of immense labour but of corresponding value, is dated 1668.§

* Quoted by Noake, *Monastery*, p. 559.

† Dr. Tomkins is said to have been brought up "from his cradle" by Nathaniel Tomkins. (*Prattinton MS.* in Coll. of Antiquaries).

‡ Dec. 22, 1917.

§ *Musica Deo Sacra et Ecclesie Anglicanæ*: or, Musick dedicated to the Honor and, Service of God, and to the Use of Cathedral and other Churches of England, Especially of the Chappel-Royal of King Charles the First. By Thomas Tomkins. *London, Printed by William Godbid in Little Britain, and are to be sold by Timothy Garthwait in Little S. Bartholomew Hospital*, 1668. In five parts, Medius, Contratenor, Tenor, Bassus and Pars Organica. Perfect sets are found in St. Mich. Coll., Tenbury, Ch. Ch. Library, Oxford, and elsewhere. Our Cath. Mus. Library has the following, Contratenor (2 copies), Tenor, Bassus (3 copies) and Pars Organica. A MS. Medius was made in 1915 from the St. Mich. Coll. copy by Mr. Edgar Day, Assistant Organist of the Cathedral.

It consists of five services (two only having *Kyrie* and *Creed*), a setting of the Burial service, 95 anthems of 3 to 12 parts, a set of *Preces* in 5 parts and some harmonizations of Psalm Tunes. An *errata* page (very rarely met with) in the Organ part contains two directions which are of great value in determining the pace at which church music was taken in the seventeenth century, and the pitch of organs at that time.

1. *Sit mensura duorum humani corporis pulsuum; vel globuli penduli, longitudine duorum pedum a centro motus.*

2. *Sit tonus fistulæ apertæ, longitudine duorum pedum et semissis; sive 30 digitorum geometricorum.*

The last direction shews that the pitch of seventeenth-century organs was almost exactly a minor third higher than the present low pitch.

The Calendar of State Papers for 1666-7, gives the following amongst the *undated* papers:—

Advertisement, probably intended for insertion in the *Gazette*, of a work by Thomas Tomking, organist of Worcester, entitled: “*Musica Deo Sacra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*,” to be had at the Chaunter’s House, Westminster.

The *Dictionary of National Biography* quotes a statement (under Thomas Tomkins, D.D.) that the work was edited by the composer’s nephew, the Chancellor of Exeter; but this was not the case. There can be no doubt that this was the work of his son Nathaniel, who is known to have been an excellent musician.*

I have just learnt (1918) of the existence in the Library of the *Conservatoire de Musique* at Paris of a highly important MS. Virginal Book containing compositions of Byrd, Bull, and a large number by Thomas Tomkins. Along the back of the volume is the title: *Thomas Tomkins. Instrumental Music. 1646. 1654.* A note within by F. Finley Foster states that the MS. is in the autograph of Thomas Tomkins. Unfortunately the volume is not available for detailed examination and description at the present time, for, with other treasures, it has been removed to a

* See *ante*, p. 51. This view is confirmed by the fact that the Cathedral Music Library contains a magnificent six-part anthem in score, *Set up thyself O God above the Heavens*, which, though unsigned, is undoubtedly by Thomas Tomkins, and is in the handwriting of Nathaniel. The fact that the anthem is in the latter’s handwriting is established from a comparison with some letters of Nathaniel’s which exist in the Cathedral archives [D. 129 and 130]. Unfortunately the first page of the anthem (about sixteen bars) is wanting. The MS. is closely written, all the bars have been ruled beforehand, and, from the nature of the mistakes made in writing out, it is probable that it was scored from parts,

safe place during the air-raids and long-range bombardment. Fortunately, however, the Assistant Librarian, Madame Marie Louise Pereyra, had made some notes about the contents of the book, and had taken tracings of examples representing the handwriting of the whole volume. These she sent to me, and after comparing them with undoubted examples of Tomkins's handwriting in the Cathedral Accounts at Worcester, I was able to establish beyond question the fact that the Paris Virginal Book is indeed a Tomkins autograph.

The following specimens of Tomkins's handwriting are from the Paris MS. Virginal Book :—

glovia Tibi Trinitas . Jun. 16. 1648 . F. 191
 Bits: ot mot Cils. 3-1 Tho: Tomkins

Those under are from the Cathedral archives :—

Ita est: Tho: Tomkins

(Signature in Cathedral Accounts in 1611.)

Tho: Tomkins,

(Signature in Cathedral Accounts in 1639.)

Recd all dues for this yere. Tho: Tomkins
 For m Boughton.

(Signature in Cathedral Accounts in 1639.)

Drawing upon her memory and upon notes she had made, Madame Pereyra writes that the MS. contains, amongst other pieces by Tomkins, one entitled *A Sad Pavan for these distracted tymes*. February 1649; another is described as *Toy. G. Made at Pool Court*; others bear the titles *Perpetual Round* (dated 1654); *Fortune my Foe*; *A Fancy for 5*

Viols; another *Fancy for 4 parts* is without any indication of instruments. Amongst other writings in the book are: *Mr Tomkins his book*, and a sort of list of familiar objects, pillows, blankets, etc. The manuscript which is numbered 18,547 in the Library of the Conservatoire contains an *Ex libris* of Thomas Bever, LL.D., a great collector of music, specimens of whose library, dispersed by sale in 1798, are to be found in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Another MS. Virginal Book in the Conservatoire Library (No. 18,546, not an autograph), contains amongst compositions of Gibbons, Byrd, Bull, Tallis, Damon, etc., one (or possibly more) by Thomas Tomkins.

Both MSS. (18,546 and 18,547) belonged at one time to the Farrenc family.

MS. 88 in the Fitzwilliam Museum, a volume in the handwriting of Purcell (written in his 15th year), contains Tomkins's anthem *O Lord, I have loved the habitation*.

A copy of Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction* (1597), which once belonged to Tomkins is now in the possession of Dr. A. H. Mann, of King's College, Cambridge. It contains some Canons signed by Tomkins, a few notes in his handwriting and his signature.

CATHEDRAL MUSIC AFTER THE RESTORATION.

The Choral Services of the Cathedral ceased from July, 1646, to the Restoration, nor was the Liturgy of the Church of England again heard in its walls until the burial of Dorothea Townshend, June 5th, 1660.* Even after the Restoration the ruinous state of the building made services impossible for some time.† The first Morning Prayer was said at 6 a.m. on Friday, August 31st, by Richard Brown, a Minor Canon who two years later became Organist. In the following month (Sept. 13) the new Dean, Dr. Oliver, President of Magdalen College, came to be installed "and to settle the church in order" (Townshend's *Diary*). The task of re-establishing the choral services was at once taken in hand. There was much to be done. The office of Master of the Choristers was vacant and, as was natural after a lapse of fourteen years, there were no choristers. Of the Minor Canons who had served the Cathedral in 1646 only four were living in 1660.

* Unless, perhaps, during Charles II.'s occupation of the city in 1651.

† The repairs were begun Aug. 11, 1660. A. lxiii., p. 39.

[A, lxix, *Liber Installaconum*, p. 56.]

CANONICI MINORES.

Philippus Tinker, clericus, artiū Mag ^r , Præcentor chori.	}	Hi quatuor tantum superstites erant tempore restauracōnis
Johannes Sayer, clericus, Sacrista.		Decani et Capituli per serenissimū
Richardus Browne, clericus.		et potentissimum Regem Carolū
Thomas Taylor, clericus, artiū Magister.		secundū 1660.

Six more were admitted between January 9th, 1661 and May 17th, 1662, bringing their number up to the ten required by the Statutes.

Six Lay-Clerks had survived.

[Ibid, p. 83.]

DIACONUS ET SUBDIACONUS.*

Humfridus Wythie,† lector Evangelii
Johannes Laight, lector Epistolæ

CLERICI LAICI.

Georgius Yardley
Richardus Davies
Richardus Hopkins
Johannes Brown

Hi sex int' vivos
erant tempore
restituōnis
Decani et Capituli
in Año dⁿⁱ 1660

[Four more Lay-Clerks were admitted in the following year, bringing their number up to ten.]

LUDIMAGISTRI

Joh^{es} Toy, Artiū Mag^r, Archididasculus } Ambo viventes
Thomas Hunt, in artibus bacc^{us}, hypodidasculus } Ano 1660

ORGANISTA—Vacat.

CHORISTÆ, Nulli

Amongst the Chapter records is an undated petition from the surviving Minor Canons and Lay-Clerks for the recovery of salaries due to them for the years 1645 and 1646. It was signed by all except

* The offices of Deacon and Sub-Deacon were now, and had been long before, held by lay-clerks. When, later, the offices were suppressed by the statutes which Charles II. gave, without any Parliamentary sanction to legalise them, compensation was made by the appointment of two extra lay-clerks, making *ten*.

† Tomkins dedicated one of his *Songs* to Wythie, who was chorister in 1611, lay-clerk in 1619, Sub-deacon and Librarian in 1639, Deacon and Sub-Treasurer 1642 and 1643, and Clerk of the Works and Verger in 1660.

Humphrey Withie. As Withie died early in December, 1661, the petition may be dated about January 1661-2.

[D, 194.]

To the Reverend the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedrall Church of Worcester.

The humble petiçon of the members of and belonging to the quire of the said Cathedrall now surviveing, and that were of the said quire in the yeeres 1645 and 1646.

Showing,

That yo^r petic^{rs} in the late warrs in the said yeeres, as before and since that time did faithfully and duly performe their duties and offices according to their severall capacities but in regard of the said warrs and the King's enemies prevalency in the same times yo^r petic^{rs} received little or nothing of their severall sallaries due unto them those yeeres, and for their faithfull service to the late King of blessed memory, and for doing their severall duties required of them, yo^r petic^{rs} were plundred and undone. And since that time, have for many yeeres suffred for their good affections to his now most gracious Majestie. But since it hath pleased god to restore his Majestie to his Kingly Government over this Kingdome with the rest of his dominions. It hath pleased his Majestie of his grace and favour to the Church of England to restore to them all the revenue formerly belonging to the Church. Wee therefore your petio^{rs} humbly desire to be considered for the 2 yeeres wherein wee did as before our duties, and in soe doing, wee shall pray etc.

Most of those who petitioned had received all their training from Thomas Tomkins, first as Choristers and afterwards as Lay-Clerks or Minor Canons; their knowledge of the old tradition must therefore have been invaluable.

An entry in the Treasurer's Accounts for 1662 shows that the work of re-organising the Choir began about Sept. 1660:—

[A, xxix, p. 18.]

Cantatoribus laicis Leight, Hopkins, Brown, p. salario Mensurno
ante Fest. S^{ti} Michaelis 1660. Decani jussu solvebam £1 10 0

On November 7th, 1660, ten Choristers were formally admitted by the Dean,* and between February 23rd and April 3rd, 1661, the four

* A. lxix., p. 125. Their names are given.

additional Lay-Clerks, spoken of above, were admitted and installed.* The numbers of the Choir were thus brought up to ten Minor Canons, eight Lay-Clerks, a Deacon, and a Sub-Deacon, according to the requirements of the Statutes.

The Cathedral was without music however. Fortunately, Barnard's *Selected Church Music*, a collection of Services and Anthems which had been published in 1641, could still be bought, and in 1661, a set was procured.

[A, lxxiii, p. 53.]

BOOKS BOUGHT TO FURNISH THE CHURCH.

For a sett of printed song-books for the quire, box and carriage £12 15 6

The set probably consisted of the following twelve parts, six being proper to each side.

Decani. Two Medius, one 1st Contra-tenor, one 2nd Contra-tenor, one Tenor, one Bassus.

Cantoris. Two Medius, one 1st Contra-tenor, one 2nd Contra-tenor, one Tenor, one Bassus.

Four of these volumes, viz., the 1st Contra Tenor Decani, the 2nd Contra-Tenor Cantoris, the Tenor Cantoris and Bassus Decani are still extant in the Cathedral Music Library.†

Other music, probably in score-form, was obtained later from King's College, Cambridge.

[A, xxix, p. 18, 1662. Treasurer's Accounts.]

Mr Lewsmore Cantabrigiensis p. variis canticis describendis in usu
ecclesie £1 0 0

The next entry (on the same page) no doubt relates to copying the separate voice parts.

1662. Joanni Brown laico p. canticis variis depingendis, £2 0 0

* *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 85. The forms of admission and of installation are given in A. cxvi.

† The set of Barnard's *Church Music* is probably alluded to in the "Particular Note of the plate and other utensils belonging to the Cathedral Church delivered to Dr. Jephcott, Treasurer," 1684. "Eight new service books, 12 old ones, besides those the singing men have in their boxes" (quoted in Noake's *Monastery*, p. 547). The "eight new service books" may have been Tomkins's *Musica Deo Sacra*.

By April, 1661, the choir was in working order, the boys having been trained by Richard Brown or by Richard Davis, and on Friday, April 13th, 1661, Townshend records:—

First quire service said and sung in the Cathedral Church of Worcester since the reducing of Worcester to the then parliamentary forces, July 24th, 1646. (*Diary*, p. 70.)

At first the Choral Services were restricted to Sundays and Holy-days, Saturday evenings, and the eves of Holy-days; as will be seen from the Chapter Order of April 27th, 1661.

[A, lxxvi, p. 9.]

That the members of the Quire doe attend the Quire service on Sundaies and holydaies satterdaies in the evening the eves of hollydaies and to meet twice a week att leste in some convenient place wthn the precincts of the sd Cathedrall church to exercise and to trie their voyces and fitt themselves for the more solemne and orderly pformance of the service of God in the said Quire.

It remained to secure an Organist and Master of the Choristers, and about June, 1661, the Chapter turned naturally to

GILES TOMKINS (1661-1662?),

a nephew of Thomas Tomkins and son of Giles Tomkins, of Salisbury. The latter was a gifted musician who, after being Organist of King's College, Cambridge, had followed his brothers to Court, gaining there the favour of Charles I., at whose instance he was appointed Instructor Choristarum of Salisbury Cathedral* in 1629, and in 1630, Musician

* The appointment was the occasion of a *cause célèbre*. The facts seem to be these: Upon the death at Salisbury of John Holmes (bur. Jan. 30, 1629), who had been Master of the Choristers, his widow claimed the vacated "prebend" for her son. At the election which ensued the Bishop and three Canons voted for Holmes, Junior, while the Dean and three others voted for Giles Tomkins. A question was then raised as to the vote (or casting vote) of the Dean when the Bishop was also in Chapter. Canon Chr. Wordsworth is of opinion that it was probably upon this technical point that the election was contested. Charles I. appointed a Committee of Reference to consider the election. The Commissioners, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, Winchester, Norwich and Llandaff, together with Dr. John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, reported in favour of Giles Tomkins, and the King thereupon ordered the D. and C. of Sarum to admit Tomkins provisionally to the place and prebend. (Cal. of State Papers 1629-31.) "But for the validity of the Elec'on and right of voice in the Chapter wth their dependances his Ma^y leaveth the same unto a triall att Lawe in such course as is honeste and in cases of like nature, not intending by the order now given to preiudise the prentensions and right of either." (28 June 1629, *Shuter's Memorials*, p. 102, in Records

for the Virginalls in the Royal Household. His Court work involved amongst other duties attendance upon the King, in his Scottish Journey, 1633, as Co-organist with John Tomkins.

Giles the younger was born at Salisbury, where he was baptized, September 3rd, 1633.* In the Chapter Act recording his admission as Organist of Worcester in 1661, he is described as a student in Music.

[A. lxix, Liber Install, p. 84, 28th August, 1661.]

Admissus fuit Egidius Tomkins in musicis candidatus in Organistam et Magistrum Choristarum hujus ecclesie in locum Thome Tomkins defuncti, receptis prius ab eodem juramentis superius memoratis &c. et Dominus Subdecanus decrevit litteras patentes ei desuper conficiendas.

The Chapter next turned their attention to the provision of an organ, and about June secured the services of George Dallam, an organ builder, who was probably a son of the Dallam who had built the organ on the screen in 1613. Dallam probably built the organ of 1661 from the materials of one of the organs which had been taken down in 1646. The organ loft for it was built early in July.†

[A. lxxiii, p. 54.]

1661. July 17. To Mr. George Dallam for comeing from Londõ to
sett up a small organ against the King's Ma^{ty} comeing, as was
agreed by Tompkins‡ 10^{li} 00^s 00^d
To him more he ptending y^t 10^{li} was too little 1^{li} 10^s 0^d

of D. and C. of Sarum.) However the Court of Arches decided, on the point of law, in favour of Holmes.

The matter was eventually settled by Tomkins being admitted to the place and salary of a Vicar, and, in a summary of a lost Salisbury Register, Canon Isaac Walton (son of the famous Isaac Walton) distinctly says in connection with the proceedings of 1629—

Egidius Tomkins electus Choristarum Instructor (p. 20),

Idem Tomkins admissus vicarius laicus (p. 21),

and about the end of 1631 he was made Organist, having already been made Altarista. He was buried at Salisbury April 4, 1668. Holmes seems to have become a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and died in 1638.

1637-8 3 March Thomas Holmes one of the gent. of his Ma^{ties} Chappell buried.

[Salisbury Cath. Reg., 1564—1718.]

* Salisbury Cath. Register Booke, 1564—1718.

† [A. lxxiii., p. 54.]

Worke-men payd July 6th 1661.

For making y^e organ Loft, Fitting the Quire: prepareing Repaires for Cloysters, Chapterhouse, & Gatehouse. (List of names follows.)

‡ Clearly Giles, and not Nathaniel,

It will be seen from the above that it was expected that Charles II. would pay an early visit to Worcester and Dr. George Morley, Bishop of Worcester, who had preached the Coronation Sermon, writes to Barnabas Oley, the Treasurer, on August 13th [1661] :—

Good M^r Oley

[The first part of the letter refers to contributions which the Bishop has received towards the repairs of the Cathedral].

The king tells me, he will certainly visit us at Worcester some time betwixt this and Micklemas, but y^e precise time when he will be there he cañot yet resolve on; only he tells me it cañot be soe soone as ye 3d of September, w^{ch} I am sorry for, because y^e only end of this journey being to pay God his thanks upon ye place where he received y^t great deliverance from his bloody and mallicious enemies, it were to be wish^d it might have bin upon y^e same day as well as y^e same place it might have been Opus diei in die suo; w^{ch} though it cañot be in his Ma^{ties} presence yet I hope y^t day will be kept as a sollemne festivall & that you will have sollemne service and a sermon in ye Cathedrall church for y^t purpose upon y^t day.*

[Letter ends]. Yo^r very affectionate friend and brother,

Geor. Worcester.

But though all was ready for the King, even to the painting of the organ gallery,† Charles the Second was intent upon other matters, and the promised visit was never paid. Earlier in the year however, (April 2nd, 1661) he had addressed a letter to the Dean and Chapter in which he commanded that the stipends of the Peticanons and Lay Clerks should be raised to 16 or £20 per annum.‡ The Chapter acted upon the letter June 23rd, raising them to £16.

Townshend's *Diary* affords some interesting glimpses of the choir and services in the early days of the Restoration :—

Sept. 12. 1661. Dr. George Morley, Bishop of Worcester, was solemnly brought into Worcester by my Lord Windsor, Lord Lieutenant of the County, and most of the Gentry and all the Clergy, there being 10 trumpets then attending and some volunteer militia Horse, the Trained bands of the City, and clergy band of foot in Arms, giving divers volleys of shot. As soon as he had rested within half an hour the Bishop with all the Prebends, and the

* D. 79.

† 1661 Oct. 2 To Jo. Atkinson for painting the gallery, Organ quire.

‡ A. lxxvi., p. 9. The latter is printed in full in Green, i., 133, but without date,

quire meeting him at the College steps in their formalities sang to the Quire, where he was enthroned performing the ceremonies. Then Quire Service, So to his palace, where was noble treatment prepared. (*Diary of Henry Townshend*, Ed. by J. W. Willis Bund., Worc. Hist. Soc., 1915, p. 78).

And on October 27, 1661—

Dr. Thomas Warmestry was brought in this day to Worcester with about 100 Horse as Dean of Worcester, the clergy band stood ready to receive him in the City. The 40 king's Scholars at the College Gate. He alighted at his house the Deanery, put on his robes. And the prebends and quire met him in the Cloisters, sung Te Deum. Then came into the Quire The Sub-Dean Mr. Giles Thornborough, installed him; quire service finished everyone went to his own place. And in the evening said service himself. (*Ibid.*, p. 81).

Lastly, April 23rd, 1662—

The King's Coronation Day solemnly kept by the Dean and Chapter in the Cathedral, who preached on 1 Chron.

Clergy band attended. 6 Trumpets. After prayers and sermon which was not ended until half an hour past one. The Dean feasted; gave a largesse to the soldiers and trumpets. At night bonfires in College, trumpets sounding, 2 drums beating, and some guns. Before evening prayer the Dean, Dr. Britten, petty canons, and quire went from the Church door, trumpets first sounding. Then Te Deum was sung round about the sanctuary in church yard, and so round to College gate into the Church.

Bells rung all day. (*Ibid.*, p. 88.)

It is difficult to determine how long Giles Tomkins remained at his post. The following entries occur in Barnabas Oley's Accounts for 1661 :—

[A. xxix., p. 7.]

Institutori Choristarum p. una anni 4^{ta} p^{te} finita ad Festum S^{ti} Michaelis
1661 4¹¹ 00^s 00^d

and at the other end of the book, under payments made by him to Prebendary Nathaniel Tomkins on November 28, 1661 :—

Comput. cum M^{ro} Nathaniel Tomkins p. Año finito ad Festū S^{ti} Mich^{ls} 1661.
Solutæ sunt ei p. stipendio M^{ri} Ægidii Tomkins qui instituit choristas,
et organa moderat^r 4^{1j} 00^s 00^d

Both entries cover but one payment. The second entry suggests that Giles Tomkins had already left Worcester before December 1661.

The attendance of the members gave a good deal of trouble from the earliest days of the Restoration. From the Prebendaries downwards, all appeared to find difficulty in settling down to regular attendance at the "Prayers."

[Feb. 24, 1661-2. A. lxxvi., p. 17.]

Quo die convocatis canonicis minoribus, clericis laicis, ceterisque inferioribus membris hujus ecclesie, preconizatisque absentibus D^{us} Decanus ex gratia sua reservavit eorum penas in proximum Capitulum, presentesque cum admonitione ut divinis officiis in dicta ecclesia sedulo intersint, ut ibidem decenter et reverenter se gesserint, et ut eorum respectiva loca et officia diligenter, sobrie et sine scandalo exequantur, dimisit.

Though Giles Tomkins was not mentioned by name in the above Chapter Act, it is clear that he was one of the absentees. At the next Chapter, having contumaciously absented himself, the Dean declared his post void. (*Ibid*, p. 19).

[March 24th, 1661-2.]

Conventis omnibus inferioribus membris ecclesie predictae comparuerant excepto M^{ro} Egidio Tomkins Organista et M^{ro} Choristarum quem D^{us} Decanus reputavit, pronuntiavit et habuit pro contumace seu sese contumaciter absente, et locum et officium suum de persona sua vacuum esse; comparantesque cum salubre et pia admonitione sua pro tempore dimisit.

This act of Chapter was confirmed at the next Meeting and Richard Brown, one of the Minor Canons, who had been a Chorister in 1639, Sub-Deacon (Lay-Clerk) in 1642 and 1643, and was admitted a Minor Canon in 1644, was appointed in the place of Giles Tomkins.

[April 26th, 1662.]

Ad quod Capitulum D^{us} Decanus eo quod M^r Egidius Tomkins nuper Organista et Magister Choristarum sese absentaverit et non comparuerit juxta citationem et monitionem peremptoriam in ea parte datam et publicatam pronuntiavit dictum locum et officium vacuum dare de persona sua, et M^{rum} Rich^{um} Browne unum canonicorum minorum ad dictum locum et officium supplendam et exequendam designavit et assignavit donec de eodem ulterius disposerit vel de eo approbaverit.

From the fact that only half the stipend of the Master of the Choristers was paid for the year Michaelmas, 1661 to 1662, I have

little doubt that Giles Tomkins left Worcester about Michaelmas, 1661, and that for about six months, viz., from October to March, 1662, the Cathedral was without an Organist. During that time Richard Brown probably carried out the duties. The Bishop's Registry throws some light, I think, upon the after history of Tomkins. The records there show that on September 22nd, 1661 a Giles Tomkins subscribed before admission as a Deacon. From 1661 the name is not to be traced in the Diocese for eleven years, but it is probable that Giles was made Curate-in-charge of one of the many livings which his uncle Nathaniel held. In 1672 the latter presented him to the living of Martin Hussingtree and in the following year he became Rector of Hindlip also. Two years later he married Margaret Winns, the marriage licence hazily describing his age as "about 30." In reality he was about 42.

[Marriage Licences, *Harl Soc.*, 1886.]

Aug. 25, 1675. Giles Tomkins of City of Worcester, Clerk, Bach^r abt. 30, and Mrs. Margaret Winns, of same, Spr., abt. 24 and at own dispose; at St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish St.

Six children were born at Martin Hussingtree where he was Rector for nearly 53 years, dying July 20th, 1725, in his 93rd year. His death and burial are recorded in the parish registers there.

(1725). Afft.* Reverendus Ægidius Tomkins hujus ecclesiae per plusquam quinquaginta annos Rect^r vicesimo die Julii mortuus, Vicesimo sexto sepultus anno ætatis 93^o.

* *Affidavit*, viz., that he was buried in woollen.

APPENDIX I.

POST-RESTORATION ORGANISTS AND MASTERS OF THE
CHORISTERS FROM 1662 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

- 1662—1664 RICHARD BROWNE. Admitted 26th April, 1662.
Chor.—1639. *Sub-Deacon and Lay-Clerk*, 1642, *Minor Canon*, 1644, *b. Jan.* 1618-19 (?), *bur. Aug.* 27, 1664, *in South Aisle of Nave.* (*Entry in St. Mich. Registers.*)
- 1664—1688 RICHARD DAVIS. Admitted 14th December, 1664.
Chor. and King's Scholar, 1639—43, *d. April*, 1688, *bur. in North Cloister.*
VAUGHAN RICHARDSON. *Deputy Organist*, Christmas, 1686—May, 1688.
- 1688—1724 RICHARD CHERINGTON. Elected 17th May, 1688.
Admitted 30th June, 1690.
- 1724—1731 *JOHN HODDINOTT. Elected and admitted 25th November, 1724.
Chor. 1700—11, *b.* 1688, *d.* 23rd Aug., 1731, *bur. at West end of North Cloister.*
- 1731—1734 *WILLIAM HAYES. Elected 25th November, 1731.
Afterwards Org. of Magd. College, Oxford, to his death, July 27th, 1777.
In the vacancy, September, 1734, to end February, 1735, the Organist was Morley (? JAMES MORLEY, Organist, Bristol Cathedral, 1734—1756).
- 1734—1747 JOHN MERIFIELD. Elected 25th November, 1734. Admitted 25th November, 1735.
(*Began duty in March, 1735*), *d. Oct. 13th, 1747, bur. in North Cloister.*
- 1747—1793 ELIAS ISAAC. Elected 25th November, 1747. Admitted 25th November, 1748.
B. 1725, *d. July 14th, 1793, bur. in North Cloister.*
- 1793—1806 THOMAS PITT. Appointed 25th November, 1793.
King's Scholar, 1752—54, *Chor.* 1754—67, *d. April 21st, 1806, bur. in North Cloister.*
- 1806—1807 JEREMIAH CLARKE. Elected and appointed 5th May, 1806.
Chor. 1752—57, *resigned 1807, d. at Bromsgrove, May, 1809.*
- 1807—1813 WILLIAM KENGE. Elected and appointed 23rd June, 1807.
- 1813—1844 CHARLES ERLIN JACKSON CLARKE. Elected 19th November, 1813. Admitted 25th November, 1814.
Chor. 1808—11, *b. Dec. 19th, 1795, d. April 28th, 1844.*

- 1844—1895 WILLIAM DONE. Elected 25th June, 1844. Admitted 25th November, 1845.
B. Oct. 4th, 1815, d. Aug. 17th, 1895.
- 1895—1897 HUGH BLAIR. Elected and admitted 19th November, 1895.
b. May 26th, 1864.
- 1897 IVOR ATKINS. Elected 4th August. Admitted 20th November, 1897.

(*From 1710—23 *Ralph Dean was Master of the Choristers, and from 1723—45 William Davis, son of Richard Davis.*)

APPENDIX II.

COMPOSITIONS BY THOMAS TOMKINS.

It is impossible at present to give a complete list of Tomkin's works, but the following is an attempt to indicate the sources of such as are known:—

VOCAL.

Musica Deo Sacra. Published in 1668. A Collection of 95 Anthems, 5 Services, a setting of the Burial Sentences, the Preces harmonized in 5 parts, and some harmonizations of Psalm Tunes.

Anthems not included in *Musica Deo Sacra* are to be found in the British Museum (Tudway Collection, Add. MSS. 17784, 17786—17791, 17796, 29372—29377, 30478—30479; Harley, 4142, 6346), Durham (Cath. Lib.), Batten's Organ Book (St. Mich. Coll., Tenbury), Ch. Ch. and St. John's Coll., Oxford (MSS., 180, 181). (The latter consist of part books, which have been stated to be in Tomkins's handwriting (D.N.B. and Grove's *Dictionary of Musicians*); an examination however by the St. John's Librarian shewed that they are entirely in the hand of Michael Este.)

A set of Vocal Church Music of 4 and 5 parts, said by Anthony à Wood to have been given by James Clifford to Magd. Coll., Oxford, has long since disappeared.

Two Psalm Tunes, *Dunfermline* and *Worcester* (published in Ravenscroft's *Psalms*, 1621).

Preces and Responses in 5 parts and two settings of the Litany are preserved at Peterhouse, Cambridge. They were printed, though not very accurately, by Jebb in his *Choral Responses and Litanies*. (The use of these Preces and Responses has been revived in Worcester Cathedral since 1916.)

Songs of 3, 4, 5 and 6 parts (published in 1622).

Some Madrigals, not included in the above work, are to be found in the British Museum (Add. 11587, 29372—29377, 29427).

VIRGINAL MUSIC.

Paris *Virginal Books* (see pp. 58—60).

The following are found in the Fitzwilliam *Virginal Book* :—

Pavana.
A Grounde.
Barafostus Dreame.
The Hunting Galliard.
Worster Braules.

(All five published under the editorship of Messrs. Barclay Squire and J. A. Fuller-Maitland).

In Ch. Ch. Library, Oxford, are three Virginal Pieces not included in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, viz., *Almaine* and two un-named pieces.

ORGAN OR VIRGINAL MUSIC.

In a volume in the Brit. Mus. (Add. 29,996), begun by Redford, continued by Tallis and Byrd, and completed by Thomas Tomkins, are some pieces by the latter, originally written for strings or voices but probably intended to be played on the organ or virginal. Amongst them is one entitled *Lord Canterbury's Pavan*. The same volume contains a composition for four hands, *A Fancy*; and included in the volume are some satirical verses against the Puritans. Tomkins has added critical notes to the volume, which also contains a page in the handwriting of Nathaniel Tomkins.

MUSIC FOR STRINGS.

Brit. Mus. Add. 17792—17796 contains *In Nomine's* for 3 viols, and three Pavans for 5 viols.

Add. 30826—30828 contains the incomplete parts of two Pavans for 5 viols (Canto, Alto and Tenor parts only).

GENERAL INDEX.

A

A solis ortus cardine, 1.
Alb-days, 12, 13.
 Alchurch, Robert, 10.
 Alcock, John, Bishop, 5—7, 10, 12, 13.
 Alcuin Club, 20, 21.
 Altar, High, 3.
 Altar of the Blessed Mary in the Nave, 4.
 Altar of the B.V.M. at Rededore, 4.
 Altar of St. Edmund, 4.
 Antems, 19.
 Antiphons, 11, 17, 19.
Antiphona fundata, 17.
 Antiphon of Our Lady, 12, 13.
 „ of the Name of Jesus, 12, 13.
 „ *Stella claritatis*, 5, 6.
 Antiphoner, Worcester, 1.
 Archevolle, Edward, 33.
 Ashmole, 27, 28.
Athenæ Oxonienses, 38.
 Atkins, Ivor, 71.
 Atkyns, Sir Robert, 20.
Aurea luce, 1.

B

Bailiff of Worcester, 30, 31, 47.
Ballads, 14, 27.
 Bannister, Canon A. T., 35.
 Barnard's *Selected Church Music*, 28, 63.
 Barnard's *MS. Collection*, 28, 37, 41.
 Batten's *Organ Book*, 41, 71.
 Baynham, 43.
 Bele, William, 10.
Benedictus, 19.
 Berkeley, Ann, 43.
 Henry, 43.
 Rev. Richard, 43.
 Rowland, 43.
 Berkeleys of Cotheridge, 43.
 Bever, Dr. Thomas, 60.
 Bible Clerk, 45.
 Bird, *see* Byrd.
 Birrell, Augustine, 57.
 Blackfriars Theatre, 28.
 Blair, Dr. Hugh, 71.
 Bloom, J. H., 4, 9.
 Bloxam, 26.
 Bodleian Library, 44.

Bohun, 43.
 Boys of the Chapel, 2, 5—9, 12, 13, 16—19.
 Boys, Daniel, 9, 16—19.
 Brewhouse, the old, 55.
 British Museum, 28, 34, 35, 37, 41, 46, 71, 72.
 Britten, Dr., 67.
 Broad *or* Brode, Edmund, 42.
 Broke, Thomas, 33.
 Broome, Francis, 33.
 Broughton, Foulke, 47.
 Brown, Canon C. G., 40.
 Brown, John (Lay Clerk), 61, 62, 63.
 Browne, Richard, Organist, 54, 60, 61, 64, 68—70.
 Browne, Mrs. Walter, 55.
 Bryden, Thomas, 10.
 Bull, Dr. John, 60.
 Bund, J. W. Willis, 3, 67.
 Butler, *Principles of Music*, 52.
 Byrd, William, 34, 38, 44, 47, 60.

C

Cambridge, King's Coll., 41, 63.
Canticus fractus, 13, 17.
 „ *planus*, 13, 17.
Capella Beate Marie, 2—9, 13, 14, 17—19.
See also Chapel of the Blessed Mary.
Capella Beate Marie ad Rededore, 4.
Capella Beate Marie in Navi, 6, 7, 13.
Capella, Nova, 12, 13.
 Carnegie Trust Scheme, 37.
 Castle of Worcester, 55.
 Chambers, 26.
 Chantry of the Mass of the B.V.M., 3.
 Chapel of Duke of Clarence, 10.
 Chapel of the Blessed Mary, 2—10, 12—19.
See also Capella Beate Marie, Lady Chapel.
 Chapel of the Blessed Mary at the Red Door, 4, 5.
 Chapel Royal, 14, 22, 23, 28, 36, 38, 44, 47, 48, 50, 53, 56.
 Chapel Royal, Organists of, 47.
 Chaplain of Chapel Royal, 14, 56.
 Charington, Gervase, 29.
 Charles I., 22, 41, 50, 51, 54, 64 *footnote*.
 „ Anthems at Coronation of, 50.
 Charles II., 60, 61, 66.
 Charlet, Prebendary, 51.

L

Cherington, 70.
 Children, The, 19.
 Children, Master of the, 19, 28, 31, 35.
 Children of the Chapel Royal, 28.
 Children of St. Paul's, 28.
 Chiles, Thomas, 55.
 Choir, constitution of, 22.
 Choristers, 20, 22, 47, 62.
 Choristers, Grandsire of the, 21.
 Choristers, Master of the, 20—22.
 Christ Church Library, 28, 34, 37, 57.
Chronologia Edificiorum, 4, 5.
 Chyles (*see* Gyles), 29 *footnote*.
 Clarence, Duke of, 10.
 Clarke, C. E. J., 70.
 Jeremiah, 70.
 Clavycordes, 25.
Clericus, 10, 14.
 Clerks of the Chapel, 2, 5—8, 10.
 Colbroke, Margaret, 25.
 Colden, Anne, 25.
 John, 24—26.
 Colle, William, 4.
Collectanea, 11, 14.
 Collects—
 Deus qui inter apostolicos, 6.
 Domine famulum tuum, 6.
 Rege quesumus, 6.
 College of Arms, 41, 42.
 College of Heralds, 40, 41.
 Compline, 21, 22.
Conservatoire de Musique, Paris, 58.
Cope-days, 12, 13.
 Cornish, F. Warre, 15.
 Cosin, Dr. Arthur, 32.
 Dr. Richard, 32.
 Cotterell, Robert, 29, 30.
 Coulton, G. G., 15.
 Cratford, 15.
Creansor, 27.
 Croft, Dr. Herbert, Bishop, 29.
 Cropthorne Manor, 31.
 Cummings, W. H., 23 *footnote*.
Custos Capelle Beate Marie, 2, 3. *See also*
 Magister Capelle.

D

Dallam, George, 65.
 Thomas, 46, 65.
 Dalton, Rev. J. N., Canon of Windsor, 26.
 Damon, 60.
 Daniell [Boys], Master, 19.
 Davey, Henry, 14, 38.
 Davis, Richard, 34, 61, 64, 70, 71.
 Day, Edgar, 57 *footnote*.
Deacon, 20, 21, 61.
 Deans—
 Joseph Hall, 47.
 Sethe Holland, 23.
 Arthur Lake, 46.
 Dr. Oliver, 60.
 Christopher Potter, 54.
 Dr. Thomas Warmestry, 67.

Deans—*continued*.
 Francis Willis, 30, 34.
 Thomas Wilson, 29.
De profundis, 6.
Descant, 17, 19, 27.
Detecta, 31.
Dictionary of National Biography, 38, 58.
Diocesan History of Worcester, 52 *footnote*.
 Dissolution of the Monastery, 5, 7, 9, 20.
 Dobbins, Daniel, 56.
 Dodderhill, 56.
 Done, Dr. Wm., 56, 71.
 Dronfield, 41.
Dunfermline (Psalm Tune), 48.
 Durham, 34.

E

Edgar Tower, 54, 56.
 Edward, Prince of Wales, 12.
 Edward VI., 23.
 Elizabeth of York, 14.
 Elizabeth, Queen, 23, 24.
 Ely, 34.
English Madrigal Series, 37.
 Este, Thomas, 35.
 Eton College, 15.
 Eyre, 43.

F

Farrant, Richard, 26, 27, 34.
 Farrenc, 60.
 Feckeham, R. de, Prior, 3.
 Fellowes, Rev. Dr. E. H., 37, 38, 41.
 Ferrabosco, Alphonso, 51.
 ffollyott, *see* Folliot.
 Fido, John, 35—37, 47.
 " Hear me, O Lord, 37.
 Thomas, 35.
 Fisher, Richard, 23, 24.
 John, 23.
 Fitzwilliam Museum, 28, 60.
 " Virginal Book, 37.
 Fleetwood, Bishop, 34.
 Fletcher, Bishop, 31.
 Floyer, Rev. J. H., 1.
 Folliot, Guthlake (Chapter Clerk), 56.
 Isabella, 42, 56.
 Roger (Chapter Clerk), 25.
 Fosbrooke, 43.
 Foster, Finley, 58.
Fragments of Service Books, 2.
 Frere, Rev. Dr. W. H., 1, 21.
 Fuller-Maitland, J. A., 37.
 Fysshier, *see* Fisher.

G

Gibbons, Orlando, 22, 47, 60.
 Giffard, Bishop, 3.
Gist (*see* *Gustata*), 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19.

- Glazebrook, 40.
Gloria in excelsis, 2.
Gloria, Laus, 2.
 Gloucester, 43, 44, 51, 53.
 „ chanter of, 41.
 „ endowment of, 20.
 Gospel, *Stabant juxta*, 6.
 Gospeller, 20.
 Gradual, 2.
 Gratton-Flood, Dr. W. H., 14.
 Green, *History of Worcester*, 46 footnote,
 66 footnote.
 Green, Francis, 42.
 Grene, Richard, 9, 10, 14.
 Grenville, Sir Richard, 40, 41.
 Griffiths, Dr. Sylvanus, 42.
 Margaret, 42.
Gustata, 15 footnote, 16, 18.
 Gyles, Margaret, 29.
 Nathaniel, 25—30.
 „ Compositions by, 28.
 „ Canon, 29, 51.
 „ Fellow of Magd. Coll., 29.

H

- Habington, 31, 46.
 Hall, Guy, 56.
 Mrs. Isabel, 56.
 Dr. Joseph, Dean, 47.
 Richard, 55.
 Hamilton, 1, 4.
Hamlet, 28.
 Hampton Court, 29.
 Hampton, John, Senr., 11.
 John, 2, 7, 8, 9, 11—16.
 „ *Salve Regina*, 2, 15.
 Hargest or Hergest, Anne, 42.
 Richard, 42.
 Harmony, Fragments of Early, 2.
 Harvington Meadow, 31.
 Hasaert, *see* Hazard.
 Haselock, John, 42, 56.
 Hassard, Hassord, *see* Hazard.
 Hastings, Sir Henry, 42.
 Jane, 42.
 Havant, 25.
 Hawkins, *History of Music*, 28.
 James, 34 footnote.
 Hayes, William, 70.
 Hazard, Alice (or Elienora), 32, 41, 42, 44,
 45.
 Peter, 32.
 William, 32.
 Heath, Bishop, 20, 21.
 Henry, Prince, eldest son of James I., 45.
 Henry III., 9.
 Henry VI., 11.
 Henry VII., 14, 23.
 Henry VIII. New Foundation, 20—23.
 Herbert, William, Earl of Pembroke, 49.
 Hereford, 25, 35, 36.
 Hereford, John, 7.

- Hergest, *see* Hargest.
High House, 51, 54, 55.
 Hill, 56.
 Himbleton, Manor of, 23.
 Hindlip, 69.
 Hoare, Humphrey, 33.
 Hobhouse, Archdeacon, 43.
 Hoddinott, John, 70.
 Holland, Seth, 23.
 Holmes, John, 64.
 Thomas, 64, 65.
 Hooper, Edmund, 47.
 Hopkins, *Survey of the Cathedral*, 46.
 Richard, Lay Clerk, 61.
 Hulet, T., 9, 10.
 Hunt, Thomas, 61.

I

- Instructor Choristarum*, 29. *See also*
Magister Choristarum.
 Instructor of Boys of Chapel, 9.
 Inventory of Master of Chapel, 19.
 Isaac, Elias, 70.

J

- James I., 50.
 James, Dr. M. R., 15.
 Jebb, *Choral Responses*, 71.
Jesu nostra redemptio, 1.
Just, Justa, Justata, *see* *Gustata*

K

- Kempton, Thomas, 34.
 Kenge, William, 70.
 Kerswell, W. de, 3, 4.
 Kitchenor's Leasow, 51.

L

- Lady Chapel at east end, 3, 4, 49, 53.
 „ „ in the Nave, 3—7, 20. *See*
 also Chapel of the Blessed Mary.
 Lady Mass, 2, 12, 22.
 Lafontaine, *The King's Musick*, 22, 41.
 Laight, John, 61, 62.
 Lake, Arthur, Dean, 46.
 Lambe, Richard, 29.
 Lambeth, Library at, 44.
 Laud, Archbishop, 48, 49.
 Lay clerks, 20, 21, 61, 66.
 Leach, 9, 20, 21.
 Leight, *see* Laight.
 Leighton, *Tears and Lamentacions*, 28.

Leland, 7.
 Lewsmore, 63.
Liber Albus, 3, 4.
Liber Pensionum, 4.
 Litany, how sung, 20.
 Lloyd, Chancellor, 55.
 Lombe, Henry, 11.
 Lostwithiel, 38.
 Lyndsey, John, Sacrist, 4.

M

Mace, Thomas, 48.
 Magdalen College, 26, 28, 29, 44, 60.
Magister Capelle, see Master of the Chapel.
Magister Choristarum, see Master of the Choristers.
Magnificat, 11.
 Malter, Thomas, 25.
 Mann, Dr. A. H., 60.
 Martin Hussingtree, 38, 42, 43, 56, 57, 69.
 See also Merton.
Martyrs (Psalm tune), 48.
 Mary, Queen, 23.
Mass book with pricksong, 19.
 Masses—
 Beate Marie Virginis, 2 footnote, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19. *See also* Lady Mass.
 de Corpore Christi, 6.
 de Dominica, 6.
 de Nomine Jesu, 6, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19.
 de quinque plagis Christi, 6.
 de Sancta Cruce, 6.
 de Sancto Spiritu, 6.
 "of five parts," 11.
 "of square note," 11.
 pro patribus et sororibus, 6.
 Requiem eternam, 6, 12, 13.
 Salus populi, 6.
 de Trinitate, 6.
 Master of the Chapel, 2—19.
 " " " " " Inventory of, 19.
 Master of the Children, *see* Children.
 Master of the Choristers, *see* Choristers.
 Master of the Queristers, 23.
 McLachlan, Dame Laurentia, O.S.B., 2, 10.
 Meredyth, John, 33.
 Merifield, John, 70.
 Merton, Manor of, 56.
 Milton, 57.
 Minor Canons, 20, 21, 22 footnote, 60, 63, 66.
 More, William, 16, 17, 18.
 Morley, Dr. George (Bishop), 66.
 Thomas, 45, 60.
Motet, 2.
 Multon, Robert, 13.
 Mundie, John, 27.
 Music Library (Cathedral), 15, 34, 57 footnote, 63.
Music's Monument, 48.
 Myriell, 46.

N

Nanfan, Colonel, 55.
 Nash, 11, 28, 31, 38.
 New Foundation, 20—23.
 Nicolas, Sir H., 14.
 Noake, 14, 19 footnote, 20, 30, 57, 63.
Nova Capella, 12, 13.
 Novello, Vincent, 37.

O

Okar or Oker, John, 32, 33.
 Oley, Barnabas, 66, 67.
 Oliver, Dr. (Dean), 60.
 Organ, New, 1613, 46.
 Organ, purchase of 16th century, 10.
 Organ player, 16, 19, 39.
Organa, 2.
 Organ accompaniment, 18.
Organia, 7.
Organi, pulsator, 36.
Organista, Thomas, 9.
Organista ac Instructor puerorum, 14.
 Organs, Keeper of, 19.
 Organs taken down, 56.
Organum, 2, 10.
Organum, ludicio super, 17.
 Oxford Music School, 52.

P

Paradise Lost, 57.
 Paris, Conservatoire de Musique, 58.
Parliamentary Survey of 1649, 51, 54, 56.
 Parma, Duke of, 32.
 Parry, Bishop W., 46.
 Patrick, Alice, 33, 35.
 Francis, 32.
 Dr. Gyles, 31.
 Nathaniel, 31—36, 44, 45.
 " " " " " compositions of, 34, 35.
 Thomas, 31.
 Payne, Archdeacon, 39.
 Peirs, Thomas, 47.
 Pennyman, Rev. W. G., 30.
 Pereyra, Madame, 59.
 Peterhouse, Cambridge, 34.
 Petition of Choir, 61, 62.
 Physician, Cathedral, 31.
 Pitt, Thomas, 70.
 Plainsong, 13, 17, 18, 22.
 Plays, 27.
 Poher or Pore, Margaret, 41, 42.
 Potter, Christofer, 54.
 Precentor, 1.
Preceptor Choristarum, 23.
 Preedy, 43.
 Price, Francis, 33.
 Pricksong (harmony), 11, 18, 19, 22, 27.

Prince Henry's Funeral Anthem, 45.

Priors—

- Feckeham, R. de, 3.
- More, William, 16, 17, 18.
- Multon, Robert, 13.
- Thomas, 11.

Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York and Henry VII., 14.

Probate Registry, Worcester, 24, 25, 32, 33.

Processions, Solemn, 12, 13.

Psalm-singing, 48.

Purcell, Henry, 23, 28, 60.

Puresory, Arthur, 32.

Pystoler, 20.

Q

Quem totus, 2.

Queresters, Master of the, 23.

R

Ramsbotham, Rev. A., 57.

Ravenscroft's *Psalms*, 48.

Recorder, an ould, 34.

Respond, *Honor Virtus*, 19.

„ *O Maria et Johannes*, 5, 6.

Restoration, Music at, 60.

Revenge, The, 40, 41.

Reynolds, Bishop Walter, 4.

Richardson, Vaughan, 70.

Rochester, 20, 21.

Rowland (*als. Stainer*), 26.

Royal College of Music, 28, 37, 41.

S

Salisbury, 41, 42, 64, 65.

Salmes, 19.

Salve festa dies, 19.

Salve Regina, 2, 12, 13, 15.

Salwarp, 45.

Sarum, 1.

Sayer, John, 61.

„ *Sermons*, *The*, 48, 49, 53.

Seven-feasts, 12, 13.

Shakespeare, 28.

Shakespeare's England, 28.

Sherrington, *see* Cherington.

Shrewsbury (Organ of St. Mary's), 30.

Shuter's Memorials, 64 footnote.

Singing School, 54, 56.

Smiles, *Huguenots in England*, 32.

Smyth, Dr. W., 48.

Snedde, John, 25.

Songe Books, 25.

Song School, 54, 56.

Songs of 3, 4, 5 and 6 parts, *see* Tomkins.

Spackman, F. T., 14.

Squire, W. Barclay, 15, 37.

St. Clement's, 26.

St. David (Psalm tune), 48.

St. David's Cathedral, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44.

St. Helen's, 24, 26, 27, 31.

St. Michael's, 19, 24, 25, 31, 32, 47, 53.

St. Nicholas, 30, 36.

St. Paul's Cathedral, 28, 41, 49, 50.

St. Peter's, 31.

St. Swithun's, 11, 14.

Stainer, Anne, 26, 27, 28.

John, 27, 28.

Stanbrook Abbey, 2.

Statutes, Cathedral, 20—23, 61 footnote.

Steele, R., 35.

Sub-deacon, 20, 21, 61.

Synger, Richard (de Malmesbury), 10.

T

Tallis, 60.

Taylor, Thomas, 61.

Teares and Lamentacions of a Sorrowful Soule, 28.

Te Deum, 19.

Tenbury, St. Michael's College, 41, 57.

Thomas, The Organist, 9.

Thornborough, Giles, 67.

Thornton, Dr., 29, 54.

Tilburn, Sarah, 43.

Tinker, Phillip, 61.

Tomking, Thomas, 58.

Tomkins, Alice (wife of Thomas), 51, 53.

See also Hazard.

Anne, 42, 44.

„ will of, 44.

Bridget, 43, 44.

Egidius, *see* Giles.

Elizabeth, 43, 44.

George, 43.

Giles (Organist of Worcester, afterwards Rector of Martin Hussingtree), 42, 57, 64—69.

Giles Senr. (of Salisbury), 41, 42, 44, 64.

John, Senr., 30.

John (Organist of St. Paul's), 41, 42, 44, 46, 49, 50, 52, 65.

John, Dr. (of Buckenhill), 43, 55.

„ Pedigree of, 42—44.

John, son of Giles T., Senr., 42.

„ Rector of Salwarpe, 45.

„ son of Peregrin, 42.

Louisa, 43.

Margaret, 42, 43, 44.

Mary, 43.

Nathaniel, 38, 41, 42, 45, 51, 52 footnote, 56, 57, 58, 67, 69.

Nicholas, 41, 42, 44.

Packington, 43.

Peregrine, 41, 42, 44.

- Tomkins, Ralph, *Raph or Rafe*, 41, 42.
 Rev. Richard, 43.
 Robert, 41, 42, 44.
 Sarah, 43.
 Sylvanus, 43.
 Tomkins, Thomas (Org. of Worc.), 22, 30, 34—60, 61.
 appointed to Worcester, 37.
 birth, 38, 43.
 burial, 57.
 Composer to Charles I., 51.
 Gentleman Chapel Royal, 45.
 handwriting, facsimiles of, 59.
 House in College Green, 51, 55.
 marriage, 35, 44, 45.
 Org. Chapel Royal, 47.
 Pedigree, 40—45, 52.
 pupil of Byrd, 38, 44.
 Works, 37, 57—60, Appendix II.
 Tomkins, Thomas, Anthems—
 From deepest horror, 46.
 I heard a voice, 38.
 It is my well-beloved's voice, 46.
 Know you not, 46.
 O God, wonderful art Thou, 46.
 O Lord, I have loved, 60.
 Set up Thyself, 58.
 Thou art my King, 46.
 When David heard, 47, 52.
 Tomkins, Thomas, *Litany*, 71.
 Madrigals, 49 footnote, 71.
 The Fauns and Satyrs, 45.
 Musica Deo Sacra, 37, 48, 57, 58, 63.
 Errata page in *Pars Organica*, 58.
 Songs of 3, 4, 5 and 6 parts, 37, 38, 47, 49, 71.
 Virginal Music, 72.
 Paris MSS., 58—60.
 A Sad Pavan, 59.
 Fancy (5 parts), 59.
 " (4 parts), 60.
 Fortune my Foe, 59.
 Perpetual Round, 56, 59.
 Toy, 59.
 Tomkins, Thomas, D.D., Chancellor of Exeter, 43, 57, 58.
 Thomas, Senr., 39, 41—45, 51.
 " son of Giles T., Senr., 42.
 " Chorister and Vicar-Choral of St. David's, 39, 40, 41, 42.
 " of Buckenhill, 43.
 Ursula, 44, 45.
 William, 42.
 Tomkyns, 59. *See also* Tomkins.
 Tomkyns, Richard, of Mornington, 42.
 Tooke, 45.
 Townshend, *Diary*, 56, 60, 64, 66, 67.
 Townshend, Dorothea, 60.
 Toy, John, 52, 53, 61.
Tristitia Remedium, 46.
Triumphs of Oriana, 38, 45.
 Tudway Collection, 71.
- V
- Vespers*, 5, 6, 12, 13, 17, 19.
Vexilla Regis, 1.
Viols, 34.
Virginal, an oud, 34.
Virginal Book in handwriting of Thomas Tomkins, 58—60.
 " " Contents of, 59.
Visitation of Hereford and Monmouth, 42.
 " " Worcester, 41.
 " *Vitatoris* (Invitatories?), 19.
- W
- Walker, John, 25.
 Jone, 25.
Walkers, Company of, 30.
 Waller, 54.
Warden of the Chapel, 2.
 Warmestry, Dr. Thomas, 67.
 Warmstry, Robert, 29.
 Warner, Miss Townsend, 15.
 Wayneman, Dorothy, 31.
Weavers, Company of, 30.
 Wheeler, Richard, 30.
 Whyngle, Thomas, 10.
 Wight, Dr., 54.
 Willis, Brown, 44.
 Willis, Francis, 30, 34.
Wills—
 John Colden, 25.
 Nathaniel Patrick, 33.
 Thomas Tomkins (Senr.), 44.
 Anne Tomkins, 44.
 Wilson, Rev. J. M., Canon of Worcester, 5, 11.
 Dr., Dean of Worcester, 29.
 Rev. H. A., 26.
 William, 27.
Windsor (Psalm tune), 48.
Windsor, St. George's Chapel, 21, 26—28.
 Winns, Margaret, 69.
 Wythie, Humphrey, 61, 62.
 Wood, Anthony à, 38, 40, 41.
Worcester Elegy and Eulogy, 52.
Worcester (Psalm tune), 48.
 Wordsworth, Canon Chr., 64.
 Wulstan, St., 1.
Wulstan's Day, St., 16.
 Wyg, John de, 3.
- Y
- Yardley, George, 61.
 Ylleway, John, 9.
York (Psalm tune), 48.
 Yowle, Robert, 28.

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